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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CZECH AND GDR PREMIERS SPEAK OF BLOC, INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

#### Strougal: Search for Peace

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 77 pp 1-2 AU

[Speech by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal at the Prague dinner in honor of visiting GDR Premier Willi Stroph on 27 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Stoph, men and women comrades, once again I greet you from the bottom of my heart in the CSSR's capital. Believe me that we will do everything to make your stay here successful, even though you are not giving us much time for this. To tell the truth, even 2 days may sometimes yield as much as 1 week, particularly among friends who are meeting so regularly.

The meetings of the premiers of our countries have already become a tradition in the energetic, mutually useful contacts between the CSSR and the GDR. Soon there will have been 50 such meetings, and this is a really respectable figure for merely 18 years. Moreover, it is also convincing proof that on the western frontier of the socialist community in Europe, a particularly sensitive area, there stand side by side states that respect all the duties of their membership in the camp of socialism, the Warsaw Pact Organization and CEMA.

Esteemed comrades, this year we will celebrate, together with all progressive people, the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution that changed the map of the world and became the symbol of a happy future for the peoples of all continents. This jubilee year will provide us with a good opportunity to demonstrate the strength of socialism, which is changing the world--and changing it for the better--literally before our eyes. Particularly so, since the realistic politicians in Europe have come to respect peace and ceremoniously renounced in Helsinki both war and the threat with weapons in order to replace them, and let us hope forever, with roundtable negotiations.

However, the war danger has not quite been warded off. It has not yet become possible to transfer political detente to the military sphere. Real disarmament remains a mere wish of people of good will. Armament expenditures are

growing. Troop numbers are increasing and permanently burdening the policy of detente with uncertainty. No one can completely eliminate the danger of chance events that could cause a military catastrophe, especially since the number of hateful campaigns against socialism from among certain circles in the Western countries is increasing.

We are thus all the more bound by the program of peace, formulated at the CPSU congresses and representing a comprehensive collection of political and military measures for changing a possibility into a really lasting peace. That is why we support with all our might all the Soviet Union's peace and disarmament proposals, as well as the recent initiatives of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact at its Bucharest session, because they may normalize the atmosphere, remove the danger of a nuclear war and halt the armaments race, at least in Europe.

Together with the other socialist states we are doing everything to implement in life the principles of the Helsinki Final Act. We want to apply all the principles it contains since we regard them as sensible and applicable also in a class-divided world. Naturally we reject the priority of one principle over another, because we regard them both as equally important. We regard the final act as an indivisible code which appeals for international cooperation in all spheres and which rejects interference in the internal affairs of other states.

That is why in Czechoslovakia everybody who respects the principles on which our socialist society is based will find open doors. However, we will let nobody dissuade [odradit] us from taking the road to building the developed socialist society which has become our people's life wish.

Esteemed comrades, our meetings, our talks and, I firmly trust, also the conclusions of this visit will contribute their share to the fulfillment of the line taken by the 15th CPCZ Congress and the Ninth SED Congress.

Since we are pursuing identical goals, it is on the whole natural that our cooperation is really successful. That is why Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, was able to declare at our party's last congress: "We can state with deep gratification that relations of firm friendship, alliance and mutually beneficial cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres are successfully developing between our parties and states, between the people of our countries."

Although the history of our cooperation is not even one generation old, quite a few things have materialized which we can only dream of elsewhere. A particularly dynamic upsurge was noted in the economic sphere, where the higher and effective forms of cooperation have become a familiar matter.

In fact, we are not only increasing the volume of goods exchanged, the share of specialized production and cooperation in general is growing daily, also.



Joint research and the development of a number of products and technologies has already become self-evident. We have concluded almost 100 specialization and cooperation agreements. We are jointly building a number of significant plants, and we are helping each other not only in material things, but also by exchanging experience. This is a true example of socialist internationalism, which strengthens both national economies and enables a constant improvement of the people's living standards, even at a time when millions of unemployed are besieging the labor exchanges a few steps from our western borders.

In this way socialist Czechoslovakia and the GDR are making the real development of the human personality possible, relieving the citizens of the pressure of social uncertainty and social discrimination. It is we and not they who are filling with firm content the inalienable right of work and a happy life on earth.

We cordially welcome the fact that our contacts are not restricted to the spheres of politics and economy alone. Surely they are varied also in culture, education, science and technology. Millions of our citizens go to relax in the Baltic and millions of your working people have come to like our fatherland. It is these human contacts that are giving the true content to the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, setting it on the firmest foundations and providing it with guarantees for the future.

Esteemed Mr Premier, our negotiations provide further proof that cooperation between the CSSR and the GDR is one of our peoples' certainties.

We will certainly add a bit more to the endeavors for strengthening cooperation and consolidating our peoples' friendship, and for making our socialist states remain united.

I drink to the unbreakable friendship and international ties between the CZCP and the SED, to the health and long life of the two parties' general secretaries--comrade Gustav Husak, president of the republic, and comrade Erich Honeker, chairman of the State Council, to the firm ties with the Soviet Union, to the cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, to the fraternal cooperation of our peoples, to your health, Comrade Stoph, to the health of all those present!

Stoph: Socialist Friendship Unbreakable

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by GDR Premier Willi Stoph at a dinner given in his honor by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal in Prague on 27 April]

[Text] Dear Comrade Strougal!

Dear Czechoslovak comrades!

Permit me to once more express my sincere thanks for your invitation to visit and for the extraordinarily friendly reception.

I would like to assure you that the atmosphere of cordial hospitality which has surrounded us since the first moment of our stay in your country impressed us most pleasantly.

Esteemed Comrade Strougal, I have accepted your invitation to visit Czechoslovakia, fraternally tied with the GDR, with great pleasure. Our common wish is to contribute with this meeting, in the spirit of the resolution of the 11th SED and the 15th CPCZ congresses, to further consolidating and deepening the constantly developing relations between our socialist neighboring countries for the good of our fraternal nations.

On the unshakeable basis of the common fraternal association with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and united by Marxist-Leninism and the principles of socialist internationalism, the friendship and cooperation between our fraternal parties, states and nations have reached an unprecedented dynamism in the seventies.

Our all-round cooperation in politics, economy, science and technology, as well as in the sphere of spiritual and cultural life, is taking place in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere.

The economic and scientific-technical collaboration, cooperation, specialization and mutual goods exchange have been developing very successfully and to the benefit of both sides. This will serve to ever better and more extensively satisfy the material and cultural needs of our countries' working people.

The fraternal contacts and bonds between our states' working people have expanded many fold and intensified, and thus we can speak with full justification of a higher level in our relations. The decisive impetus for this stems from our Marxist-Leninist parties, and particularly from the meetings between their general secretaries, comrades Erich Honecker and Gustav Husak.

We are filled with joy and pride to be able to state: Our cooperation, based on the international spirit of absolute trust, helps us to build an advanced socialist society in both countries, helps the logical process of drawing closer between our states and nations and strengthens the socialist community.

Along with the peoples of the Soviet Union, with the socialist fraternal countries and all progressive mankind, we are preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This historical jubilee will become the most significant event of 1977 in the lives of our nations. The working people in the GDR have been joining in the socialist competition in honor of this great holiday and have been tying it to purposefully fulfilling and exceeding the tasks set by the 11th SED Congress.

The untiring efforts of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, aimed at implementing the policy of peace and peaceful cooperation with all countries, set by the 25th CPSU Congress as well as by the congresses of the fraternal parties, is quite in keeping with the purpose of Great October.

The consolidation of peace and security of nations was and will remain the highest goal of the socialist foreign policy. With the Bucharest Declaration the Warsaw pact member states have again taken the initiative in the struggle for lasting peace, security and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We attach primary importance to halting the feverish armament and negotiating concrete measures for disarmament, while strictly respecting the security interests of the sides and observing the principle of equality.

The Bucharest session proposal to conclude a treaty among all states participating in the CSCE on the non-first-use of nuclear weapons against one another has received great attention by the international public. This underlines its topicality and nearness to life [blizkost zivotu].

The balance sheet of measures aimed at the realization of the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final act as a whole, which can be submitted by the states of the socialist community at the approaching Belgrade meeting, is very positive.

The GDR, too, has been contributing to this. We regard it as correct to conduct a matter-of-fact, constructive and future-oriented exchange of views in Belgrade on the implementation of the Final Act and on the further efforts to intensify the relaxation of tension. At the same time, the focus of the meeting must be--as it was in Helsinki--the issues of security, consolidation of peace and peaceful cooperation among nations. This would correspond well to the interest and the expectations of peaceful nations of Europe.

Dear Comrade Strougal!

Dear Czechoslovak comrades!

Our talks which began today are marked by an atmosphere of close brotherhood and firm congruity, such as can be created only between good friends and communists proceeding in their actions from identical ideals and objectives.

Permit me to again express my firm conviction that our visit and our talks will contribute to further deepening fraternal relations for the benefit of our nations and for the strengthening of socialism and peace.

I ask you to lift your glass with me in a toast:

--To the unbreakable friendship and close combat bonds between the SED and the CPCZ, as well as between our states and nations!

--To the well-being of the general secretaries of the SED and CPCZ central committees, Comrade Erich Honecker and our highly esteemed friend, Comrade Gustav Husak!

--To our unshakeable fraternal bond with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community!

--To the fraternal Czechoslovak nations!

--To your well-being, dear Comrade Lubomir Strougal!

--To the well-being and health of all Czechoslovak friends and comrades present!

CSO: 2400

ALBANIA

DECREE ON SUPREME COURT JUDGMENT PROCEDURES ISSUED

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 2, 28 Mar 77 p 23

[Decree on Supreme Court Judgment of Penal Questions on the First Level]

[Text] On the basis of Article 102, second paragraph, of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has resolved:

Article 1

The Supreme Court judges on the first level, with judicial bench consisting of one justice and two associate justices and, for special questions, upon decision of the president of the Supreme Court, with a judicial bench consisting only of justices or of justices and a larger number of associate justices.

Article 2

This decree goes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 28 March 1977

Decree No: 5545

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the  
People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Secretary:

Telo Mezini

Chairman:

Haxhi Lleshi

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### ATA ACCUSES 'LITERATURNAYA GAZETA' OF DECADENCE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Apr 77 p 4 AU

[ATA article: "Decadent Art in the Service of the New Soviet Revisionist Bourgeoisie"]

[Excerpt] Tirana 21 April--In conditions when grave social wounds exist in the Soviet Union, which are becoming even graver as a result of the comprehensive crisis that has swept that capitalist country, the bourgeois revisionist art and culture, sinking deeply in the morass of decadence, are aiming to divert the attention of the masses from the capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The revisionist newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, known for its reactionary ideas, recently published an article on some of the latest Western films, such as "Last Tango in Paris," "Story of O," "Emmanuelle" and so forth, whose sole subject is sex and pornography. The showing of such films has been banned in many countries throughout the world. Even the bourgeoisie of some West European countries, to preserve its moral guise, has in certain cases banned the showing of such ultrapornographic films, but the revisionist bourgeois aestheticians are throwing away all demagogic masks and are openly hoisting the banner of degeneracy. In a long report published recently in the aforementioned newspaper, the film "The Last Tango in Paris," which even the bourgeois critics termed "scandalous," is being hailed as "a masterpiece from which it is impossible to delete any sequence." Other films of this type are also being praised in such a way. To that ragsheet, even Bertolucci, that reactionary Italian director, the author of some of the most banal films shown recently, is a "supertalent." Continuing its hymnization of such reactionary films, the revisionist newspaper writes that many of them contain "magnificent scenes of genius." Thus, the film Emanuelle (which has been boycotted by the public in many parts of the world for its base moral content) is being termed to be "a film which exerts a strong attraction."

These apologists of the degeneracy, license and monstrosity of the human society zealously serve the aims of the revisionist clique in power and the venom which they spread has its effect in intoxicating the broad working masses and in diverting their attention from the most acute problems of the comprehensive crisis in the Soviet Union itself.

ASPECTS OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION EXAMINED

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 2, Feb 77 pp 90-95

[Article by Georgi Karasimeonov: "Successes and Difficulties of the Portuguese Revolution"]

[Text] Eighth Congress of the CPP [Communist Party of Portugal]

The Portuguese revolution which overthrew the longest fascist regime in Europe in April 1974 continues to excite the world's public opinion. The dynamic, many-sided, conflicting and, in many respects, unique nature of the revolutionary process in that country "confirmed and is continuing to confirm," as Alvaro Kunhal, CPP Central Committee secretary general stressed, "the existence of objective laws governing the development and the general characteristics of the revolutionary process, manifested in countries with similar economic and political systems, which is an experience of universal significance to the revolutionary movement. However, the Portuguese revolution also confirmed, and is confirming today, that each revolution has its own characteristics which are the result of specific objective and subjective factors. We cannot understand the Portuguese revolution unless we are aware of its particular features."

In this connection, the profound Marxist-Leninist assessments made by one of the motive political forces of the Portuguese revolutionary process--the Communist Party of Portugal--are particularly important to all revolutionary forces in the world. The exceptionally meaningful study and conclusions drawn by the Portuguese Communists at their eighth congress (11-15 November 1976), and at the first regular congress after the revolution represent a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of the international communist and worker movements. Having acquired a long and rich experience in the struggle against fascist dictatorship and in the process of revolutionary change, the CPP continues to play a decisive role for the acquisition and defense of democratic gains by the toiling Portuguese masses. This theoretical and practical experience has been synthesized in the theses and the accountability report of the CPP Central Committee and the decisions of the eighth congress which offer a

comprehensive and profound study of the reasons and factors which brought about the April 1974 revolution, its motive forces, the stages and accomplishments of the revolutionary process, and its developments and prospects.

#### Motive Forces and Nature of the April Revolution

The fall of the Caetano fascist system was determined by a number of objective and subjective factors which were, above all, a reflection of the crisis of the fascist regime which assumed an exceptionally aggravated form in the final days of its existence.

The basic characteristic feature of the fascist regime--a terrorist dictatorship reflecting the interests of domestic monopolies and land owners, related with international imperialism--was its total inability to resolve the main national problems. Its crisis was aggravated as a result of the fast worsening of the economic situation, the growing hopelessness of the colonial war, the intensification of contradictions within the ruling class, and the growing domestic and international isolation.

However, as the CPP has always emphasized, fascism could not have fallen automatically. The struggle of the people's masses alone could have eliminated it. "In the final years of the dictatorship," Alvaro Cunhal stresses, "the struggle waged by the Portuguese people against fascism and the colonial war grew into a powerful national movement of the masses covering virtually all anti-monopolistic classes and strata--all sectors of national life."

In the final years of the dictatorship the political, economic, and social situation brought about the ripening of objective and subjective factors for its revolutionary elimination on 25 April 1974. They played their role in enabling the democratic and anti-fascist revolution to assume, in the course of time, an anti-monopoly, anti-landed estate, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist content.

The CPP stresses three basic factors which insured the successful course of the revolution:

First, by virtue of their dominating position, the revolutionary forces (of the people and the military) were able to undertake directly profound revolutionary-democratic changes regardless of the intention of the authorities;

Second, the existing interaction among the initiatives stemming from the powerful mass movement and the activities of the revolutionary forces (of the people and the military) which shared the power;

Third, the radical role played by the fact that the motive force of the revolution was the alliance between the masses and the armed forces, the



alliance between the worker and popular movement and the revolutionary military, the alliance between the people and the Armed Forces Movement.

As the Portuguese Communists emphasize, the two basic components of this alliance--the Movement of Armed Forces (MFA) and the worker and popular movement secured, together, the defense of the young democracy and the progress of the revolutionary process. Pitted one against the other or divided they would have been doomed to defeat. Neither the people were able to overthrow the dictatorship without the military and make a democratic revolution, nor the military could implement this without the support of the people.

The role of the MFA in the revolutionary process was mainly that it was not only able to implement the 25 April coup d'etat but also succeeded in assuming control and management of the armed forces and thus support and encourage the popular movement.

The popular movement covers the organized labor movement and the democratic movement. In the initial period after 25 April the Socialist Party was part of the revolutionary process and the popular movement. Its subsequent turn to the right and its anti-labor policy, according to the CPP, led the Socialist Party to oppose the revolutionary process and its motive forces.

The history of the Portuguese revolution is a history of great and violent struggles waged by the working class and the popular masses, linked with the revolutionary military, aimed at the liberation of Portugal from oppression, misery, exploitation, injustice and social inequality, following the path of democratization and a socialist future.

The course of the revolutionary process frequently revealed the difficulties and contradictions between the two components. Anti-communism and concessions to the reaction, and the influence and provocations of reactionary and extreme left-wing circles caused tremendous harm to the interaction between the popular masses and the armed forces. However, as the Portuguese Communists emphasized, despite the contradictions, difficulties, uncertainties, and conflicts, the change in the ratio of forces and the retention of the alliance between the worker and popular movements and the armed forces remained the main factors in the defense and development of democracy.

#### Stages and Gains of the Revolution

The most dynamic and, at the same time, the most successful period for the revolutionary process was the first year following the elimination of fascism in the country. It was precisely during that stage that the revolution not only faced its most serious trials but, surmounting them, was able to accomplish the most progressive gains of the Portuguese people.

In the very first months which followed the April revolution, the reactionary forces, supported by monopoly capitalism, launched their counter offensive against the revolutionary forces. The three main counterrevolutionary attempts of a coup d'etat (July 1974, 28 September 1974, and 11 March 1975) were zealously prepared. They were preceded by the intensification of the political offensive launched by the reactionary and conservative forces, economic sabotage, and instigation of social conflicts and disturbances. The purpose of all three attempted coups d'etat aimed at giving full power to General Spínola, proclaiming an emergency situation, disbanding the MFA, abolishing the freedoms, suppressing the labor movement and the CPP, and imposing a military-fascist and reactionary dictatorship.

All three attempts, the Portuguese Communists emphasized, failed thanks to the tremendous mobilization of the masses and the will of the working class to defend its gains, the resolve of the "captains" and the active interaction between the popular movement and the MFA.

At the same time, these three important victories of the alliance between the people and the MFA over the reaction insured the further development of democracy and provided a powerful impetus to the revolutionary process.

It was precisely after 11 March that the most radical revolutionary decisions were made which dealt a crushing blow at monopoly capitalism and the land owners and their political representatives.

The revolutionary and democratic gains of the Portuguese people are manifested in the following:

Acquisition of democratic freedoms. Under the pressure of the powerful popular movement and the MFA, the new government restored all basic freedoms and rights of the people eliminated by the fascist dictatorship. This applies, above all, to freedom of assembly and demonstrations, freedom of political parties, freedom of trade unions, right to strike, and freedom of the press and information. This was paralleled by a process of purging fascist elements from all local and central authorities and of disbanding the fascist organizations and institutions.

Improvement in the living conditions of the working people. Most important in this respect were the following: establishment of minimal wages, expanding the effect of collective contracts to include farm workers and fishermen, equalizing the extent of paid leave, introducing unemployment compensation, raising pensions, introducing a 90-day paid leave for pregnant women, and so on.

Institution of worker control. Since in most cases worker control was instituted spontaneously by the workers at the enterprises without legal limit being established in advance, it assumed a variety of forms: control over the circulation of assets and bank notes, accounting, control over credits and payments, observation of trade and the market, control over

the use of raw materials, and so on. In a number of cases worker control marked the beginning of the management of enterprises by workers. The Portuguese Communists emphasized that worker control continues to play an exceptionally important role in the defense of the national economy and it is an inseparable part of the process of its restoration and development.

Nationalizations. The nationalization of the banks and basic economic sectors was the result of the aggravation of the class struggle triggered by the resistance and sabotage of monopoly groups. The nationalizations virtually eliminated monopoly capitalism.

At the same time the participation of the state in a number of enterprises as a method for controlling and influencing capitalist activities increased considerably.

The establishment of 800 cooperative associations was also significant.

All these radical changes in the area of ownership of capital goods, the Portuguese Communists point out, created a qualitatively new circumstance in the national economy and a broad base for its restoration and development toward socialism.

Agrarian reform. The agrarian reform is one of the greatest accomplishments of the Portuguese revolution. It is a historical success achieved by the agricultural workers of Alentejo and Ribatejo, organized in their trade unions, headed by the CPP and supported by the MFA. It changed radically agrarian structures, production relations, and political and social conditions in the southern parts of the country.

Decolonization is one of the historical victories of the Portuguese revolution. The national liberation struggle of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau brought about their independence.

Strengthening of national independence. This was achieved both in terms of breaking away from the dictate of imperialism as well as the establishment and development of relations with the socialist countries and other progressive governments throughout the world. Portugal's international isolation was eliminated.

These main economic and social changes radically changed the structures within Portuguese society and eliminated state monopoly capitalism; the landed estates in Southern Portugal were expropriated; a big economic sector free from capitalist ownership and exploitation was established, and colonial exploitation was eliminated.

These historical accomplishments of the Portuguese revolution took place within a relatively short time which confirms the exceptionally dynamic nature of the revolutionary process.

In the course of time, however, the nature of the revolutionary process brought about new contradictions and conflicts, this time within the motive forces. This created grounds for a new reactionary offensive.

In the second year of the revolution the class between two extremely disparate processes, in the words of the Portuguese Communists, between the revolutionary dynamics and the electoral process, was the main factor for the crisis development of the revolutionary process.

These two processes found themselves in a state of open conflict. On the one hand, revolutionary dynamics brought about profound changes; on the other, the continuing anti-democratic situation in a number of party of the country (whose population was under the physical, economic, moral, and religious pressure of the reaction) made the process of informing the voters and the factual manifestation of their will impossible.

The constituent assembly elections and their results were used by the reaction and the socialist party to launch an open opposition to the revolutionary process. This aggravated circumstances to the extreme. The deep conflicts which were created, and the divisions and conflicts within the democratic camp opened the way to the big reactionary offensive against the consistent revolutionary forces.

The acute contradictions between the communist party and the socialist party, triggered by the right-wing socialist party leadership, as well as the split within the MFA into three groups: the left, rallied around Vasco Gonsalves, the "group of nine", rallied around Melo Antonis, and the extreme left, rallied around the COPCON [Continental Operational Command] and Otelo Carvalho, broke up the unity of the democratic camp and the armed forces and their interaction.

It was precisely during that period of exceptionally acute military-political crisis that the CPP displayed exceptional farsightedness and courage aimed at preventing the growth of the reactionary offensive into a new military-fascist dictatorship. Along with its energetic activities which mobilized the masses in the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces, it farsightedly rejected and cautioned against any violent frontal clash with the reaction. Forseeing that during that period and with such a ratio of forces this would benefit only the reaction, the CPP dedicated all possible efforts to prevent the split within the democratic camp and the military and suggested a number of initiatives to refine and clarify positions. As emphasized by the Portuguese Communists, such a systematic position adopted by the CPP protected the revolutionary power of the worker and popular movements and created possibilities enabling them to continue the struggle for the protection and strengthening of the freedoms and other gains of the revolution under the new conditions prevailing after 25 November 1975.

The attempts of the reaction to use the 25 November events for the final elimination of the revolutionary forces and gains of the Portuguese people were blocked mainly as the result of two basic reasons:

First, the fact that the democratic military which had opposed the military left and the extreme left in the split of the MFA, quickly realized that both it and democracy were in a state of mortal danger;

Second, because the worker and popular movements displayed, under such complex circumstances, maturity, political realism, firmness, and consistency.

At that stage in the development of events the struggle between democratic and reactionary forces focused on the nature and path of institutionalization of democracy. As the CPP emphasized, the quick adoption of the constitution and its enactment became a prime factor in blocking the right-wing attempts at a coup d'etat and for the consolidation of the gains. The transition to a democratic system became the basic task and objective of the democratic and progressive forces.

#### Institutionalization of the Democracy and the New Problems

The drafting, adoption, and enactment of the new constitution, the CPP stresses, is a great victory for the democratic and progressive forces and a major blow at the reactionary and conservative forces.

The new constitution reflects the basic gains of the Portuguese revolution, expressly emphasizing their irrevocable nature. This particularly applies to nationalizations, agrarian reform, and worker control. According to the constitution the abolishment of exploitation and oppression is the main task of the state. The path to socialism is pointed out as inseparably linked with democratic progress.

A new system of governmental authorities was created reflecting the specific nature of the revolutionary process. The retention of the military institution--the Revolutionary Council--as a guarantor of democracy and as insuring the contact between the two components--the people and the military--has a positive significance.

The subsequent series of elections (Parliamentary, presidential, and local) was to strengthen the constitutional regime. The results of the parliamentary elections, the communists point out, were a factor of great importance to the defense of the revolution. They were a manifestation of the support of democracy and of a socialist future by the Portuguese people. The communist party gained 40 parliamentary seats and, together with the representatives of the socialist party, has parliamentary majority.

By virtue of their specific nature and under the strong influence of the candidates and the maneuvers of right-wing parties made it necessary for the communist party to nominate its own candidate for the presidential elections. The minority government which was established after these elections by the socialist party is not a democratic solution in the opinion of the CPP and will be unable to deal with the problems facing

Portugal. It is a government factually linked with the right-wing parties to which it grants concessions, a government whose program is directed toward the restoration of capitalist ownership.

The Eighth CPP Congress emphasized that difficulties and, above all, major economic problems could be surmounted only on the basis of the mobilization of internal resources and of the labor, will, and energy of the Portuguese people, on the basis of their patriotic upsurge. However, this is possible only with the consolidation and pursuit of revolutionary gains. Until then the danger of threatening Portuguese democracy will not be removed. The communists point out that the political situation cannot be considered as definitively stabilized. The worsening economic and financial situation may not only lead Portugal to a catastrophic financial situation but also threaten the young democracy.

In order to resolve these profound problems, contrary to the reactionary plans directed toward increasing instability and creating conditions for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, the democratic and progressive forces, headed by the CPP, are interested in stabilizing the situation.

The CPP formulated at its congress suggestions for two alternatives for finding a democratic solution to the existing problems: the establishment of a left-wing government enjoying the support of the majority of socialist and communist members of parliament, or a government consisting of non-party people (civilian or military) enjoying the support of the communist and socialist parties. In both cases the new government should rely on a program approved by the president of the republic and the Revolutionary Council.

The leadership of the socialist party, which refuses to cooperate with the communists, is to be blamed for the fact that so far no such democratic solution has been provided. Regardless of this anti-communist course, the Portuguese Communists are constantly trying to find means for unity of action between socialist and communists, including the working class and the trade unions. They support the alliance between the people and the armed forces which, regardless of the changed circumstances, is largely guaranteeing a democratic development.

The desire of the Portuguese people for a democratic solution to problems was confirmed vividly once again in the elections for local authorities held on 12 December 1976. The success of the United People left-wing alliance (nearly 20 per cent of the vote), whose basic nucleus was the communist party, unequivocally indicated the aspirations and hopes of the progressive social strata. The "freezing" of the positions of the right-wing parties also confirms the fact that the Portuguese majority is rejecting the reactionary and anti-democratic alternative.

The young Portuguese democracy will face new major trials in the forthcoming months. At the present time its main pillar is the communist party of Portugal which, as Alvaro Cunhal stated at the eighth congress,

is "well organized, united, and disciplined, with strong ideals and concepts, pursuing a policy consistent with the new reality created by the revolution in the defense of the freedoms and gains of the revolution. It is strongly rooted in the working class and the people through its ability to mobilize the popular masses. It is resolved and able to struggle firmly and dynamically for the solution of current problems. Our party is irreplaceable in the struggle for rallying the energy of the people and for the protection and development of democracy on the path to socialism."

Tens of fraternal parties, whose representatives attended the congress, expressed their support of the noble and historical cause of the Portuguese Communists. The greetings of the BCP Central Committee point out that the Bulgarian Communists are following "with tremendous interest and sympathy the struggle of your great party and brave people in defense of the revolutionary gains and in building a free, independent, and democratic Portugal. We, the communists and working people of the Bulgarian People's Republic, consider your successes as our own, and are sincerely pleased by them."

The unity of the communists around the general party line and the newly elected CPP Central Committee leadership, headed by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, is a guarantee for their further successes in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

5003

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK ADDRESSES PRAGUE CP CONFERENCE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 77 p 6 AU

[Speech by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, at the 28 April session of the Prague consultation of fraternal parties on the work of the journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM: "The Communists' Solidarity--a Powerful Factor in the Fight for Peace, Democracy and Socialism" --passages between slantlines published in boldfaced type]

[Text] The CPCZ regards our present meeting on the platform of the journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, as an important event in the life of our parties and of the entire communist and workers movement.

We have convened after the regional consultations of our Marxist-Leninist parties which demonstrated efforts at further consolidating the unity and cohesion of the communist and revolutionary movement. This trend was also emphatically expressed at the congress of fraternal communist and workers parties.

We have met to assess how the pages of the journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM reflect the life and work of fraternal parties and how the journal is contributing toward consolidating the unity and cohesion of our movement, to exchange opinions and knowledge on the broad scope of problems that are the object of attention of both the communists and the entire world public, and also of the tasks following from this for our journal.

Our meeting is all the more significant since it is taking place in the year in which the entire progressive world is celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Under the influence of October the world had basically changed and it continues to change right before our eyes in favor of socialism, democracy and peace. Our consultation provides an opportunity for our pointing out the great successes achieved by the peoples of the socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement in the fight for peace, democracy and social progress.



The all-round, dynamic development of the socialist countries, the improving living and cultural standards of the people, the intensifying socialist democracy on the one hand and the further deepening crisis of capitalism on the other--such is the picture of our present world. The socialist community is the main factor enabling the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente to take root in international life, and it is the decisive tendency of the present. Due to this, the threat of a world war is diminishing and the base [zakladna] of the revolutionary and progressive forces' fight is consolidating.

#### The Attempts at a New "Sacred Alliance" of the Reaction

The successes of world socialism and of all revolutionary and progressive forces of the liberation anti-imperialist fight are envolving the furious resistance and hatred of imperialist reaction. The bourgeoisie is becoming increasingly aware of the growing influence of socialism in the world and is therefore mobilizing all its forces and means for a fight against it with the aim of reversing or at least hampering the social progress.

All reactionary forces, from unconcealed fascists up to the renegades of the workers movement, are joining together in a kind of new "sacred alliance" against the socialist countries and the communist and national liberation movement.

We are witness to the fact that the antisocialist and anticommunist actions and campaigns are becoming more and more organized, coordinated and refined. Their aim is to blot out and denigrate the successes of the socialist countries in building the new society, to weaken the force of attraction of their example, to discredit the ideas of scientific communism, to weaken the international unity of the international communist movement, to incapacitate each individual party and to set at loggerheads the individual streams and representatives of the broad anti-imperialist front.

The reactionary forces are organizing ideological subversion for pushing through their interests, but they are also not averse to all kinds of reprisals and crimes, as we could witness particularly in Latin America, but also in other countries.

The bourgeois propaganda apparatus and all the apologists of capitalism are trying to uphold the gravely battered faith in the lasting and eternal quality of the exploitation system by various fabricated "theories." In this work they are substantially assisted by the reformists, whose ideological-political activities disorient the masses and distract them from the fight for revolutionary changes. Their theoretical journals and publications are deforming scientific communism and trying to prove, under the pretext of "improving" socialism, that the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism has already become "obsolete" and cannot be a way of solving the problems of the present world.

Life itself is unmasking the false nature of the reformist theories. On the basis of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism a community of socialist states has been built, states that are ruled by the working people and that forever removed the exploitation of man by man. On the other hand the reformists--even though they had formed the government in many a country for decades--have not eliminated the exploitation and oppression of the working people in a single instance.

Experience teaches that against the united and coordinated operations of the reaction /the communists' most effective weapon is unity, cohesion, mutual support and joint procedure./ This was always decisive for achieving successes.

Current developments in the world and in our movement confirm the useful and inevitable nature of the systematic exchange of opinions on the various problems life presents that we must solve. We are of the opinion that in this situation it is the mission of the journal, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, to play a significant role; it has become the proven assistant of the communist and workers parties. On the basis of these parties' experience the journal is contributing to a principled and creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

#### The Epoch-Making Successes of Real Socialism

The progressive world public is preparing to celebrate in a dignified way the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which opened the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

No wonder international reaction is striving to belittle and deny the epoch-making significance of the Great October and its revolutionary role in liberating the peoples of the whole world and in their progress. In doing this the reaction is directing its main efforts at casting doubt on and at weakening the role of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party.

The results achieved by the Soviet Union in building socialism and communism can be neither blotted out, nor written off, by anybody. /The Soviet Union, which was the first to test the path toward socialism in practice: the path of a complicated search for procedures, methods and forms of building socialism--achieved on the basis of an enormous exertion of forces, heroic deeds and immense sacrifices by the Soviet people--the path of a developed socialist country that is a powerful support and base of socialism, democracy, progress and peace throughout the world./ This is the result of the wise Leninist policy of the CPSU, permeated by devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The creation of the world socialist community and the successful solution of the problems of building socialism in the individual countries is the best implementation of the legacy of October and confirmation of the general validity of Leninism, /the one and only revolutionary doctrine of the present./

## The Example of October Inspired Our People's Fight

This is also confirmed by Czechoslovakia's history. Next year will be 60 years since the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak state that was the result of our peoples' struggles for freedom and independence, of struggles inspired by the example of October. It will have also been 30 years since the victorious February [1948], which opened the path toward socialism in our country.

/Already at the time of Czechoslovakia's establishment the workers class was the main force in the national liberation fight/ and its coming to power was impressive. However, since it was not headed by a Leninist type of party, the power in the state was finally taken over--with the aid of reformist leaders who had betrayed the people--by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie set up a democracy for the rich, and exploitation and oppression for the working people. Prewar bourgeois Czechoslovakia was an industrially developed state with a mass workers movement. The long fight against oppressors in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had formed deep democratic and progressive sentiments among our people. This positively influenced the political situation in the pre-Munich republic. The official spokesmen of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie also abused that situation and disseminated various fabrications in the world about the democratic and humane nature of the Czechoslovak state, whereas poverty and unemployment were the fate of the working people during the entire period of the bourgeois rule. /The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie also completely failed in solving the nationality question./ In the end, as is generally known, the bourgeoisie--bound by thousands of ties, up to servility to the Western imperialist allies, shamefully betrayed our peoples and delivered them into slavery to Hitler. The Munich Pact, signifying the crash of the Czechoslovak state and the sufferings of the Czechoslovak people--but also the loss of independence and the enslavement of other peoples--was one of the most significant lessons taught by our modern history. /It was proof of how unreliable the bourgeoisie is/ if the defense of national interests is concerned, and also the defense of real democracy that serves it merely as a cover for concealing its dictatorship. For our peoples the entire development of events from Munich up to now has been a confirmation of the correct orientation of the CPCZ's foreign political line, the orientation toward the deep and firm friendship with the Soviet Union.

The CPCZ, which emerged from the needs of the revolutionary movement in our country and under the influence and with the assistance of Lenin's party, was accused by the bourgeoisie as well as by the reformists of being a foreign element in the life of our peoples--/of being neither national, nor independent./ However, history has convincingly proved that it was the communists who remained loyal to our peoples' interests in the most difficult times, and that it was the communists who put themselves at the head of the fight for liberation from the fascist yoke and from exploitation. The entire experience of our party confirms that all times when it firmly stood on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and consistently forwarded the revolutionary interests of the

workers class, its authority and political influence grew. And on the other hand, any wavering or penetration of the influence of opportunism and reformism into the party's policy always led to weakening its positions.

In the phase of building socialism our peoples, led by the communists, achieved an unprecedented all-round upsurge. There was no weakening of patriotism. As the bourgeoisie tried to intimidate, our peoples became proud masters of their country and conscious bearers of the ideas of patriotism and internationalism.

### The Most Successful Period in Our Peoples' Life

Next February it will have been 30 years since the historic landmark in our peoples' life when the workers' class, under the CPCZ's leadership, fully took power into its own hands.

It will have been 30 years, /but the reaction is unable to forgive us for February./ Scarcely any historic event is being so grossly distorted and falsified by the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists as Czechoslovakia's February. In order to instill fear into the medium strata in the West, they accuse us of some kind of plot, of a putsch, saying that the CPCZ had betrayed the common program and the agreement with the so-called patriotic part of the bourgeoisie.

Reality is completely different. In the interests of our people—who had drawn the conclusions from Munich and from the occupation and who had, in their vast majority, put their faith in the party as the leading force of the anti-fascist fight—the CPCZ most consistently strove to fulfill the common program. In the process of implementing it, the workers' class and the other working people gradually set up for themselves further tasks aimed at achieving socialist changes. It was the bourgeoisie that increasingly hampered the materialization of the common program, sabotaging it first in secret and then openly and finally attempting a counter-revolutionary putsch. As after world war I it wanted to swindle the working people, rob them of the results of the national democratic revolution and reinstall its own dictatorship. However, this time it had the workers' class against it, the class that had learned from historic experience and was led by the CPCZ. The significant factor of this victory was the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union that had prevented the imperialists from intervening in favor of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

The path trodden by our society since the glorious February days was successful. Facts testify that this was the most successful period in our peoples' life.

The bourgeoisie prophesized that the workers' class would be incapable of ruling and that it would fail particularly in the administration of the economy. Already prior to World War II Czechoslovakia belonged among the

10 most developed industrial states of the world, and today, under the leadership of the workers' class, this force has multiplied several times over. And all the while we had to change the entire structure of our national economy and also its ties to the capitalist countries which subjected us to a tough, remorseless discrimination. Industrial production increased more than tenfold, compared with 1948, and in Slovakia it increased 36 times.

#### Democracy in the Practice of the Socialist State

The very foundations of life in our rural areas have changed. The socialist agricultural large-scale production registered an enormous jump and today we rank among the most productive states in the world in this field.

The all-round development of socialist democracy is testified to by the working people's steadily growing participation in the management of the society and the state. A total of 700 deputies are working in the Czech National Council and Slovak National Council: 325 of them were originally workers by occupation and 103 cooperative farmers; 200 are women and 128 are young people. Almost 200,000 deputies work in the national committees, which are the local power bodies, and 400,000 citizens are working in committees' permanent commissions. Hundreds of thousands more citizens are active in political parties and social and hobby organizations. This is democracy in the practice of the socialist state.

It is the historic merit of our party that in a historically brief period all areas of our country experienced an economic and cultural upsurge. We regard the successful solution of the nationality question as one of the most significant successes, of which we are particularly proud. /The nationality conflicts in bourgeois Czechoslovakia had a destructive influence. Today the unity between nations and nationalities is a significant stabilizing factor of socialist Czechoslovakia./

Our fatherland today represents a developed socialist country with high living standards. The people's democratic rights and freedoms are fully safeguarded in it.

Even this incomplete list testifies that in a historically very brief period our society has experienced profound revolutionary changes in all spheres of life.

It was not a simple, but a complicated struggle. In it we have not avoided certain mistakes and grave errors. We have drawn the appropriate conclusions from them and this has helped us achieve the present successes. This does not mean that we are without problems. Socialism is remodeling not only the economy, but also man and his spiritual world. This is a complicated and lengthy process /which does not depend on our will and our measures alone/: It is also influenced by the enemies of socialism, both from without and from within.

## Development Confirms That the Conclusions of the 14th and 15th Congresses Were Correct

The best way to get to know each other, to understand each other and to help each other in relations between the communist parties is to meet each other directly, to become acquainted with reality, with the party's work and with the concrete life of the people. /As the saying goes, it is better to see once than to read a hundred times over./ Deplorably, in practice we also encounter that the work of our party and the people is assessed on the basis of prejudiced misinformation supplied by various people who, to put it mildly, feel no sympathy for socialism--instead of [?judging] on the basis of the knowledge of the specific situation and of the results of our people's honest work.

We would be glad if you would also make use of your present visit to our country to get to know our people's life and work and their devotion to the cause of socialism, progress and peace.

We have information that even today the anticommunist centers and vestiges of antisocialist elements at home are preparing various campaigns in connection with the 10th anniversary of the international assistance of the fraternal socialist countries to Czechoslovakia.

The imperialist reaction will never forget that it failed to reverse socialist development in Czechoslovakia, thus paying back for February 1948. It is also irritated by the fact that our working people succeeded, under the CPCZ's leadership, in overcoming the consequences of the all-social crisis and that they are implementing the line of our party's 14th and 15th congresses by their daily creative work. The development of their activity and initiative in materializing the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the mass participation in the preelection campaign and the results of elections to the representative bodies in October 1976, the great activity at the congresses of creative and artists' unions and the development of the mass movement of the working people in honor of the 60th October anniversary tellingly prove the unity of the party and the people.

The development of our country has undergone since 1968 has confirmed the correctness of conclusions adopted by the 14th and 15th CPCZ congresses [stating] that the international assistance of fraternal socialist countries to the Czechoslovak people was correct and enabled the Czechoslovak people to successfully defend the revolutionary achievements, consolidate Czechoslovakia's place in the socialist community and safeguard the clear prospects of a further socialist development.

We fully respect the principle stressed at the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe that every party is the one most competent to assess its own development and the events taking place in its country. We want this principle to be adhered to also with regard to the CPCZ.

## High Appraisal of the Journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM

In conclusion I would also like to express our opinions about the journal's work and also certain suggestions for further improving its quality. The CPCZ highly appraises the journal's work up to now. We are of the opinion that the problem analyses and the exchange and generalization of the individual parties' revolutionary experiences in the pages of the journal correspond to the demands of our times.

This does not mean that there is nothing to improve. It is necessary to improve the effectiveness and standards of our journal in the way demanded by the realities of the present world and by the development of the revolutionary process. In our opinion, the results achieved by the socialist countries should be propagated yet more convincingly in the pages of the journal. Certain parties have submitted specific proposals, particularly concerning the exchange of experience, the study of new phenomena and the comradely discussions of these issues. The CPCZ is joining in these proposals and it is prepared to make a positive contribution in this respect.

The preeminent idea of our century is the idea of revolution, internationalism and solidarity of all fighters for the revolutionary change of the world. We proceed from the fact that international solidarity is the source of strength for every communist party, as well as for the entire international communist and workers movement. We wish the journal to spread this idea, which is one of the pivotal ideas, yet more consistently and resolutely.

In the interests of stepping up the fight against imperialism and monopolist capital the journal must constantly illuminate the inevitability of common actions by the socialist countries, the workers' class of the West, the communist parties of nonsocialist states and all our allies against the internationally united force of the capitalists.

Likewise, the problems of the national liberation movement--particularly bearing in mind the shaping of developing states with a socialist orientation--demand that the journal devote increased attention to the parties and countries of these areas. The journal should contribute yet more emphatically toward breaking the false concept about poor and rich peoples and also other nonclass "theories" cultivated by the imperialist and Maoist propaganda.

We regard the systematic unmasking of all forms of /anticommunism and anti-sovietism/ in the pages of our journal as one of the main tasks in the current ideological struggle.

Because of the sharpening attacks of imperialist ideological centers against the socialist countries, particularly in the sector of human rights and freedoms, the journal should present well-informed and scientific clarifications of questions concerning the entire sphere of social and human relations.

It is particularly necessary to devote attention to the values of socialist humanism--expressed in the social, state and civic coexistence--as well as to the all-round development of the human personality under the conditions of socialism. We are aware of the fact that the different conditions under which the individual fraternal parties are working also lead at times to differing opinions. However, we believe that the representatives of fraternal parties should approach these issues in the pages of the journal from the viewpoint of endeavors aimed at consolidating the mutual solidarity, and not so as to make them a factor dividing the movement and setting one party against another.

I would like to conclude by congratulating the journal's collective and its editorial board on the work they have done and to express the conviction that they will successfully cope with the new tasks and implement all the constructive suggestions yielded by this consultation.

CSO: 2400



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH DAILY PRAISES WORK OF CSSR SOCIALIST ACADEMY

Prague PRACE in Czech 28 Apr 77 p 5 AU

[Article signed (VLK): "Necessary Activity"]

[Text] In June this year, 25 years will have elapsed since the constituent congress of the Czechoslovak Society for the Proliferation of Political and Scientific Knowledge, whose direct successor is now the CSSR Socialist Academy. This society set itself the objective of contributing as much as possible to the socialist education of the working people through a purposeful and organized spreading of political, scientific and technical knowledge to strengthen their patriotic and international feelings and awareness for participation in socialist construction.

In 1973, the Socialist Academy reconstructed itself on federative principles and has become a significant factor of our society in the ideological sphere. It manifested a great ideopolitical activity and distinct commitment, particularly in the year of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, in clarifying the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ and the 25th CPSU congresses, and in the preelection period last year when it held a total of 332 seminars and more than 75,000 lectures and published a number of brochures and materials.

The second congress of the CSSR Socialist Academy will be held only in April next year, but already now it is diligently preparing itself for it. Its 35,000 lecturers will utilize their remaining time to further deepen and perfect their activity and expand them. The Socialist Academy wishes to devote considerable attention to natural scientific and technical propaganda. It will acquaint the broadest strata of the population with the development and results of scientific research oriented at the strengthening of citizens' socialist awareness. A significant part of the Socialist Academy's activity is to propagate the paramilitary and security policy of the party and of the socialist state, clarify the CPCZ's leading role in the defense of the country and of the Leninist doctrine, and explain the defense of the socialist fatherland and the tasks and mission of the socialist army. Therefore, also, here it wishes to improve and expand its activity.

The activity of the CSSR Socialist Academy is very necessary. Therefore, one can only welcome the fact that already in the precongress period it wishes to expand its ranks, particularly with young intelligentsia.

CSR NATIONAL COUNCIL CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES ARTISTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Apr 77 p 5 AU

[Report on address by Evzen Erban, chairman of the Czech National Council, to the second congress of Czech dramatic artists in Prague on 25 April]

[Excerpts] The overall mighty development of our society creates immense room for artistic activity, however, at the same time it raises the demands on the ideological content, the attractiveness and partymindedness of artistic activity. Although, in the view of the contemporary demands, we cannot and must not succumb the complacency we nevertheless can rightly state that since the time when the artists' unions at their congresses discussed how to cope most rapidly and consistently with the remnants of the critical development and how to implement the 14th Party Congress conclusions, substantial changes have indeed taken place in our art. Most significant of all is the fact that the overwhelming majority of the artistic and cultural front has unequivocally backed our party's policy. The first months of the current year are certain to be long remembered by our working people, who attentively followed and greatly appreciated the programmatic declaration of our artists who stand at the side of our people and, together with the people, want to participate as effectively as possible in the historical combat for peace and socialism.

The offensive conduct of the artistic and cultural front also constitutes the most cogent reply to the ideologists of imperialism and their myrmidons at home and abroad. The past few months have demonstrated that our working people and, with them, also the socialist artists know how to energetically settle accounts with those who tried to evoke, through demagoguery about liberty and human rights, a situation of conflict in our country. Our enemies have not only failed in their subversive efforts but, in addition, they were taught a convincing lesson about our people's moral-political unity and about the fact that our creative intelligentsia has learned from the past and firmly sides with the working people. The struggle for liberty and human rights is now being conducted with ever increasing intensity where it is really necessary, that is in the capitalist countries where even such fundamental human rights, which are self-evident in our country, as the right to work, to education, to free health services, social security and others are not guaranteed

and where genuine liberty and democracy, based on the elimination of the power of the exploiting classes still is only a dream of the broad masses of the people.

We are gratified that recently the orientation of artistic creation in our country has changed. The aberrant current styles which mostly stem from existentialism and structuralism, the ideas of isolation, estrangement, destructive criticism and the entire arsenal of petit bourgeois ideology have been thrown on the rubbish heap and the creative artists have centered their attention on the effort to depict the values of socialist life, of the working man as the bearer of socialist relations, the hero of socialist construction. We must call to mind that without this change, without the change of both the ideological and the esthetic orientation, without a restoration of the socialist character of our art it would not have been possible to draft a comprehensive program for the further development of culture and spiritual life in our society, a program with higher aims and greater demands on the artists, on the harmonious linking of ideological standards and artistic attractiveness, on the full development of a rich range of forms and genres on the basis of the creative method of socialist realism.

It is certainly correct if at your congress you devote so much attention to the questions of developing the creation of new works of art. The theaters, movies, radio and television cannot do without a contemporary drama, without the active share of playwrights and scriptwriters. It is gratifying to see how many plays are being produced annually in our country for all these sectors. Again and again we meet with new names of talented authors. However, the standards of individual works are sometimes not up to the demands with which socialist society confronts these authors. Our working people, who are a very sensitive audience for dramatic works of art, will reject with increasing determination a superficial, untrue and simplifying portrayal of our contemporary era and will unmask a lack of professional artistic standards, cheap kowtowing and lack of sincerity.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SALGOVIC, SCHURMANN VALUE ROLE OF ARTISTS

Prague CTK in English 1705 GMT 28 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Bratislava 28 Apr CETEKA--The Czechoslovak working people have never in history contributed in such a creative way and so selflessly to the development of their country as now, presidium member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council Viliam Salgovic said at the Third Congress of the Slovak Painters and Sculptors here today.

These successes are the more valuable because they have been attained after a deep crisis into which the rightist opportunist and anti-socialist forces have dragged this country, and from which it has recovered only thanks to the policy of the new leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Not only communists, but also the overwhelming majority of the citizens who are not party members or who are members of other political parties, have identified themselves with the policy of the communist party.

Nowhere in the capitalist world the working people can exercise their freedoms and rights so widely and deeply as in the socialist system, Salgovic continued.

Viliam Salgovic appreciated the work of Slovak painters and sculptors in the past few years.

Their work mostly proceeds from the popular, national and revolutionary traditions of Slovak culture. On the other side, a number of exhibitions have proved that the working people have a very good attitude to works of art.

The Czechoslovak socialist art is based by its contents and form on socialist realism. The task of the artists' unions is to support such creative art which will contribute to understanding among nations and strengthening of world peace, Viliam Salgovic underlined.

Bratislava, April 28 CETEKA--the overall consolidation of the sphere of committed art in Czechoslovakia, achieved in recent years, was stressed today at

the Third Congress of Slovak Painters and Sculptors by the secretary of their union, Ivan Schurmann.

He disclosed that the union now has 406 members and 274 candidate members. Since the second congress in 1972, the union admitted 61 new members, and 113 candidates received full membership. The young generation represents, in terms of number and creative activity, an important section of art life in Slovakia, Schurmann said.

He spoke with appreciation about the cooperation with Soviet artists in the form of frequent personal contacts, publishing activity, exchanges of exhibitions, and the holding of artistic and scientific symposia. All these forms help Slovak artists find the correct road of development and to mobilize their potential for increasingly truthful, party-committed creative art, Schurmann said, adding that similar relations are also being maintained and developed with artists from the other countries of the socialist community.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR MINISTER ON TELEVISION VIA SATELLITES

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 27 Apr 77 p 7 AU

[MP report: "The Communications Are Changing Their Faces"]

[Summary] At a press conference in Prague on 26 April CSSR Communications Minister V. Chalupa reported on the current vast modernization of the Czechoslovak Communications: Postal and newspaper services, telecommunications and radio communications. The purpose is to cope with the increased demands and the shortage of labor. Replying to a MLADA FRONTA correspondent about the overburdening of intercity telephone lines Director I. Laska said that a gradual improvement is to be expected as soon as in the second half of the current year as a result of substantial investments. He added, however, that a basic improvement will set in only after the conclusion of the area automation of telephone connections on which intense work is underway.

"In reply to the MLADA FRONTA correspondent's last question about the situation in preparing television broadcasts via satellite for Czechoslovakia, Eng J. Marsicek, director of the radio communication desk, said that at the beginning of the current year at the conference in Geneva the International Telecommunications Union had discussed all the technical and judicial aspects involved in broadcasts from satellites. An agreement precisely stipulated the plan for using this kind of broadcasting. Czechoslovakia has the possibility of using transmission channels for five television programs, however, expenditure on satellite transmitters is substantial and thus it is expected that they will come to be used only after 1980."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH DEPUTY PREMIER REVIEWS MANPOWER SITUATION

Prague PRACE in Czech 27 Apr 77 pp 1, 3 AU

[Speech by S. Hornik, deputy chairman of the government of the Czech Socialist Republic, delivered at the Czech National Council session in Prague on 26 April 1977]

[Summary] The manpower resources of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSSR] are subject to the demographic development and the extent of the population's economic activities. The increase in the birth rate since 1972 will only have a favorable impact on our manpower resources about 1980, however.

"The present extent of manpower resources has been unfavorably influenced by the slow population growth of the second half of the fifties and the early sixties. The limited manpower resources and the considerably high economic activity of the population, which has exceeded 90 percent [of what is not given in original] in the CSR, make it impossible to insure a more marked growth of employment during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Therefore, on a long-term basis we must insure up to 93-95 percent of the production increase by boosting labor productivity.

The following facts result from a complete overview of the balance sheet: "Under the Sixth Five-Year Plan the overall increase in the population of productive age will be lower by some 30-35,000 people than under the previous five-year plan. Only after 1980 will there be increases in the balance sheets."

It is true, though, that we still have certain limited reserves among housewives, citizens with limited work ability and pensioners, and the national committees are confronted with an important task in this respect. The national committees should particularly provide optimum conditions for the reemployment of women after maternity leave. "In 1976, for example, there were 270,000 women on maternity leave in the CSR."

"Housewives constitute another possible resource for augmenting manpower increases in the balance sheets. They number some 170,000." The national committees, which know the local conditions, should provide appropriate suggestions.

It will also be important for enterprises and organizations to take advantage of the provisions of the legal adjustment of social insurance, effective 1 January 1976 and to encourage pensioners to continue in employment.

When referring to untapped reserves, persons with limited work ability must not be ignored either. "In 1976, over 170,000--that is more than 90 percent of the 185,000 persons with limited work ability registered on CSR territory--were included in the work process; only some 12,000 people have not yet been enlisted.

"In taking a sober look, however, one must realize that even an optimum exploitation of the available manpower reserves can only ease the current situation in the development of employment. It cannot solve it, however, particularly from a long-term point of view. The utilization of the social labor force is and remains decisive for the further dynamic development of the economy."

We all know of the existence of the vast reserves that lie in better utilization of workhours and higher qualification of workers. Harmonizing manpower resources and requirements constitutes another important condition for insuring the planned development of employment.

"The only way to achieve this under our conditions is to adjust the planned management of the investment process to the planned reduction in requirements for manpower and its replacement by technical equipment. The current development proves, however, that capital construction continues absolutely to expand the number of workplaces: According to competent estimates, more than 300,000 workplaces--that is, roughly one-quarter of the overall figure of existing workplaces in all shifts of the industry on CSR territory--are now unfilled, and nevertheless, demands for new investments are being very energetically asserted in all sectors."

Emphasis should be placed on the reconstruction and modernization of plants and on combining capital construction with the elimination of outdated and inefficient production facilities. "The present state in this sector is unsatisfactory."

In no case must the national committees approve capital construction projects for which the appropriate manpower resources have not been insured.

"The government has adopted a set of measures for a more effective utilization of manpower and for enhancing and utilizing the workers' qualifications, for tightening labor discipline and increasing shift intensity." Additional specific measures will be taken this year, such as measures to better utilize persons of post-productive age and mothers after maternity leave and to fulfill migration tasks for selected organizations on the territory of the capital of Prague.



EAST GERMANY

GDR COMMENTATOR ON PROBLEMS IN U.S.-USSR SALT TALKS

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 30 Apr 77 LD

[Horst Kaeubler report]

[Text] Washington--The United States, at the threshold of its third century, has to realize that the world around has changed radically. This was stated by President Carter on the day of his inauguration in front of the monumental capitol building. But the period of political reappraisals is for the United States a most agonizing process (?) at any time. Imperialism's strongest power did not of its own free will renounce futile doctrines such as the "roll-back" and "containment" of socialism policies. The inevitable defeat was needed in Vietnam, too. The evolution of realism is a slow, extremely complicated process subject to vacillation, friction and conflicts. And so it is likely to remain if we consider the first 100 days of the new administration.

Two out of three Americans, THE NEW YORK TIMES finds in an opinion poll today, favor peaceful U.S.-USSR relations. Against this background, President Carter has made the readiness to limit arms his foreign policy priority. But the constraint to adapt to irreversible foreign and domestic conditions does not necessarily imply acquiescence in an inevitable state of affairs. Even during the election campaign there was apparent a massive attempt to commit U.S. foreign policy in the long term to a rather conservative position. This pressure, leading U.S. commentators admit, has been kept up unabated in Carter's first 100 days.

This rightist pressure was seen to have its strongest impact on the future shaping of Soviet-U.S. relations. The USSR was to be induced to reduce its missile potential, while the Pentagon wanted to leave untouched newly developed strategic weapons, above all the cruise missile. Sober Americans such as George Kennan, for many years ambassador to Moscow, told the U.S. administration that an agreement to limit strategic offensive weapons was unthinkable without paying regard to the equal security interests of both partners. And James Reston said in THE NEW YORK TIMES that even the administration's well-wishers who have preferred it in such a sensitive area as Soviet-U.S. relations to act only after considering all the consequences.

Many realistic Americans blame their country's high degree of militarization for its inability to resolve its serious social and economic problems. They censured President Carter for taking over his predecessor's peak military budget, although in his election campaign he had favored cuts. At the end of this week, the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority refused to pass the new budget because excessive military appropriations would raise the deficit from the planned \$57.9 billion to \$63.2 billion, and further curtail social programs.

In the light of the experience of the Moscow talks, realists on U.S. foreign policy urge the administration to reconsider its negotiating position. Paul Warnke, the U.S. SALT negotiator, warned that any delay in a new agreement to limit arms could only spell an arms race. The bridges of understanding are still stable.

[words indistinct] The Soviet Union informed the U.S. that it remains interested in a sensible understanding to end the arms race. A positive sign is the fixing of the date for resuming the SALT talks in May, which was announced this week. But it does not imply a breakthrough to a new agreement. It is to be hoped that the first hundred days of conducting foreign affairs will make the administration realize that it had better return to realistic positions.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

COMMUNIQUE ON SAO TOME E PRINCIPE PRESIDENT'S VISIT

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr - 1 May 77 p 6 AU

["Joint Communique on the visit by Dr Manuel Pinto Da Costa, secretary general of the Liberation Movement of Sao Tome E Principe [MLSTP] and president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome E Principe [DRSTP] to the GDR"]

[Text] I

At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR state council, Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the MLSTP and president of the DRSTP, paid an official friendship visit to the GDR from 26-29 April 1977. During the visit he acquainted himself with GDR working people's successes in building a developed socialist society.

Official talks took place between Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, and Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the MLSTP and president of the DRSTP, in the course of which both sides informed each other about the policy of their parties and states, exchanged views on the international situation and discussed bilateral relations between the GDR and the DRSTP.

The deputy chairman of the GDR State Council informed the president of the DRSTP about the creative initiatives of the GDR working people for the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions. In this connection it was stressed that the general line of the SED consists of continuing the shaping of the developed socialist society thus creating the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

Horst Sindermann appreciated the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which fundamentally changed the course of world history. It is regarded by the GDR people as the main event of the century.

The president of the DRSTP informed the deputy chairman of the GDR State Council of the successes already achieved by the people of Sao Tome E Principe

in the struggle to eliminate the grave colonial legacy and in developing the country. He dwelled on the plans for the economic and social development of the country, for an upsurge of the economy and for raising the working people's living standard and explained the tasks of the MLSTP in the political mobilization of the masses.

Manuel Pinto da Costa congratulated the party and state leadership as well as all working people of the GDR on their significant achievements in shaping the developed socialist society and wished them further great successes in implementing the Ninth SED Congress decisions. He expressed high appreciation of the constructive peace policy of the GDR and its anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for national and social liberation.

On behalf of the party and state leadership Horst Sondermann praised the considerable successes achieved by the DRSTP in strengthening its independence and building a new life.

## II

Both sides note with satisfaction that there is agreement in the assessment of international questions. They welcomed the successes achieved by the socialist states and the progressive forces of the whole world in the struggle for peace, security, international detente and national liberation and advocate active work for the further improvement of the international climate and the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The partners in the talk agree that detente has become the main trend of international development and that in the interests of peace and social progress it is necessary to make it irreversible and to extend it over the whole world. They stress the necessity to bolster it by measures for military detente. Neither side overlooks in this connection the fact that the enemies of detente in various imperialist countries have at present become more active and that they have increased their influence on the policy of their states. They underscore the necessity of not slackening the required vigilance and countering the reactionary forces with the active solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces.

The GDR and the DRSTP regard disarmament and the struggle for stopping the arms race and for arms limitation as one of the key problems of our time. They advocate the holding of a world disarmament conference, a ban on all nuclear arms tests, a ban on the development and production of new mass destruction weapons and the conclusion of a world-wide treaty on the renunciation of force in international relations.

Both sides condemn any kind of imperialist policy of aggression and demand a political solution of all conflicts in the interest of peace and the people's right to self-determination. They recognize the sacred right of the peoples to repel imperialist aggressions, to fight with all means for national and social liberation and to decide their destiny themselves.

The partners in the talks agree that the Middle East problem can only be solved if Israeli troops are withdrawn from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own state, are implemented. They reaffirm that the rights of all states and peoples of the Middle East to independent existence and development must be implemented. They advocate the resumption of the Geneva Middle East Conference with the obligatory participation of the PLO.

They advocate the strict observance of the principles and goals of the UN Charter. They express the expectation that the world organization will continue to promote a fruitful cooperation of states with equal rights and demand the admission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the UN organization.

The GDR and the DRSTP agree that the policy of nonalignment represents an important factor in world politics and that it makes an important contribution to the general struggle for peace and the security of peoples. They stress in this connection that it is in the spirit of the comprehensive implementation of the decisions of the Colombo Summit Conference of nonaligned states to intensify cooperation between the socialist and the nonaligned states.

### III

The situation on the African continent was the object of an extensive exchange of views.

Both sides note with satisfaction that in the past 2 decades the peoples of Africa have achieved historic successes in their struggle for national and social liberation with the aid and support of the socialist countries and all progressive forces of the world. The victory of the peoples of Sao Tome E Principe, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verdes and Mozambique in the struggle for their national independence was a decisive step toward the complete and final extermination of colonialism and racism on African soil. Both sides agree that the changed international balance of forces and the deepening of the friendly relations and the cooperation of the African states with the countries of socialism constitute significant factors for the strengthening of the independence of these states and the creation of favorable conditions for the complete liberation of Africa.

Both sides resolutely condemn the numerous, increasing acts of aggression of the forces of imperialism and racism against the sovereign states of Africa. They proclaim their solid support for all states and peoples fighting for national and social liberation and resolutely condemn the policy of imperialist interference in Africa.

The GDR and the DRSTP note with satisfaction that the peoples of Africa are achieving historic successes in the struggle for freedom and national independence and that the role of the sovereign African states in international life is becoming increasingly important. It is particularly stressed that a growing number of African states are embarking upon the road of progressive social transformation.

At the same time, colonialism and racism in Africa, particularly in the south of the continent still exists as a serious danger to peace and the security of peoples.

The GDR and the DRSTP reaffirm their resolute support for the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa for freedom and independence. They demand the unconditional ending of the policy of racism and apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, an immediate end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and the unconditional transfer of full power to the people of Zimbabwe.

Both sides advocate the strict observance of the decisions of the UN organization and the application of the sanctions envisaged by these decisions against the South African regime. They condemn the maneuvers of imperialists and racists aimed at prolonging racist oppression and colonial exploitation of replacing them by neocolonialist solutions. Responsibility for the crimes of the apartheid regimes rests also with those imperialist circles who, despite the UN decisions and the world-wide condemnation of the racists, continue to cooperate with these regimes and who support the massive constant violation of human rights by these regimes in the political, diplomatic, economic and military fields.

Both sides resolutely oppose the imperialists' plans to form a South Atlantic military alliance with the participation of the racist regime of Pretoria, which represents a serious danger to peace and security of the African states and the whole world.

#### IV

Both sides express their deep satisfaction with the results of the visit and reaffirm their intention to develop the relations on a longterm basis for mutual benefit. They express at the same time the conviction that the talks between Horst Sindermann and Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa will have a positive influence on the strengthening of friendship and the development of cooperation between the two parties, peoples and states.

Both sides have agreed to cooperate more intensely in international questions, to hold regular political consultations and to develop relations in various fields.

Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the MLSTP and president of the DRSTP expressed thanks on behalf of his government and his entourage for the cordial reception and the very cordial hospitality accorded during his stay in the GDR.

He invited Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to pay an official visit to the DRSTP. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

For the GDR: Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council.

For the DRSTP: Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa, secretary general of the MLSTP and President of the DRSTP.

EAST GERMANY

MILITARY HISTORIAN DISCUSSES NEED FOR SOCIALIST ARMED STRENGTH

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 11 Mar 77 p 7

[H. Arnhold interview with Prof Dr Guenther Glaser, Navy captain, GDR Military History Institute, Potsdam: "How Assured Is Peace in Europe? Or: How Long Do We Still Need an Army?"]

[Text] Guenther Glaser was born in Rieschen near Bautzen in 1922, the son of a clerk. He began his antifascist activity as a Soviet prisoner of war. He worked with the National Committee of Free Germany at the front and in the rear area of the fascist Wehrmacht. In 1945 he became a fulltime functionary of the FDJ (Free German Youth). In 1949 the youth organization delegated Guenther Glaser to the armed forces of the GDR and since 1956 he has been a member of the NVA (National People's Army). He attended the Karl Marx Party College at the SED Central Committee and later studied military history. He now works in the GDR Military History Institute in Potsdam.

Guenther Glaser is the recipient of the Patriotic Order of Merit in silver and the Soviet Order of the Patriotic War, Second Class.

[Question] Seventeen million people live in the GDR. Half of them fortunately know war only through television or the tales of their elders. But have not the most devastating wars in the history of mankind emanated particularly from our continent?

[Answer] Indeed, in the past 300 years Europe has had more than 160 armed conflicts. The two world wars unleashed by German imperialism emanated from our continent. They demanded of the nations the greatest sacrifices in blood--World War I left about 10 million dead, wars since 1900 without exception have had one basic cause: the social order of imperialist exploitation with its aggressive goals, its striving for world domination,

its internal and external contradictions as well as the agonizing consequences of its colonial policies.

[Question] How has this change come about which in Europe is characterized by nearly 32 years of peace?

[Answer] Peace became assured to the same extent as the international power structure was changed in favor of socialism, thereby reducing the domain of imperialism, its sphere of influence and its future potential. Our continent is experiencing today its longest period of peace in this century, and there is a real chance to ban war totally from humanity.

This turning point for the better, for peace, began with the Great October of 1917; it began in the midst of the slaughter of World War I with Lenin's appeal "to all" to make peace finally; it began with the "Decree on Peace," actually the first decree of the young Soviet power. For the first time in the history of humanity those who came to power in Russia in 1917, were those who up till then had bled in all wars and had bled to death, for the profit of the rich, and who therefore were most deeply interested in peace: the workers and the working peasants.

At once they saw themselves surrounded by a world of enemies. The overthrown domestic exploiters united with those abroad, and together they attempted, by force of arms, to choke the infant Soviet power. Only by creating the Red Army could the Russian workers and peasants defeat, in a bitter struggle, the counterrevolution and later, during the Great Fatherland War, the aggression of fascist Germany, thereby assuring reliably and militarily their justified demand for a life of peace without exploitation.

[Question] Thus history shows us: peace must be armed. How topical is this lesson nowadays?

[Answer] Highly topical. We have no illusions. The fact of 32 years of peace in Europe and of a visible worldwide change for the positive is due indeed to the powerful development of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community under which almost half of the population of Europe lives today. It is also due to the fact that the socialist world system stretches over three continents. By no means has imperialism changed since, as already stated by Lenin, imperialism is thoroughly aggressive by its very nature. Even today all armed conflicts and all dangers of war emanate from imperialism, which adds fuel to the hot spots of international events, storing particularly in Western Europe, colossal amounts of modern war materiel and weapons of mass destruction.

As ever, imperialism brutally interferes wherever there is even the least chance to stop the revolutionary world process or to reverse it. Vietnam, Angola, the Near East and dozens of other examples of the past three decades prove this.



But what is decisive? The states of the socialist community, together with the working class and other democratic forces in capitalist countries, and with the nationalist liberation movement have succeeded in preventing a world-wide war. And in Europe, where peace has its strongest battalions, imperialists are forced generally to hold to the precept of peaceful coexistence. One of the chief factors which brings this about is the immense power of the Soviet Army and the other armies of the socialist defense alliance. It continues to act as a curb on the extremist forces of imperialism.

[Question] Therefore, one can say peaceful coexistence determines more and more the relations between the states of Europe?

[Answer] Yes, the change from the cold war to detente and implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in states with opposing social orders on our continent is unmistakable. Let us consider the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It took place due to the initiative of socialist countries and created an essential basis for a stable order of peace in Europe. In Helsinki and in the Basic Treaty between the two German states, the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty are established. This does not alter the fact that there are circles in the FRG who want to return to the relationship between the two German states existing before the conclusion of the treaties.

[Question] This is a gratifying development in the main trend. Do we then have to be armed in the future?

[Answer] Naturally, socialist countries are interested in disarmament, and to this end have submitted dozens of concrete proposals. This cannot be otherwise and is in accord with our policy to do everything for the welfare of mankind. This is the meaning of socialism. It follows legally from the existence of cooperative property for the means of production. In socialist countries no one has a material interest in rearmament; quite the contrary. "Our politics do not aim for superiority in armament but toward their reduction, toward reducing a military confrontation," says the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, in Tula.

In imperialist countries it looks quite different since by its very nature, imperialism is expansive. There, aggressive circles do all they can to delay a deepening of detente and social progress. For big business, armaments are a billion dollar business in which generals and politicians participate as stock holders as well as recipients of bribes. I only refer here to the Lockheed scandal. As always monopolies know how to use rearmament as a way out of a depression. However, it is the policy of socialist states to implement a series of concrete agreements in the field of strategic armaments but the decisive breakthrough has not come about as yet.

Capitalist countries have continued to force an armament race on the socialist countries. A short time ago the NATO General Secretariate announced that

NATO, without Greece and Turkey, had increased its armament expenditures in 1976--as compared to 1975--by about \$11 billion, to the astronomical figure of \$153.3 billion. Similar tendencies are indicated for this year.

If we would drastically and one-sidedly reduce our armament expenditures and unilaterally decrease our armies, the extremists of imperialism would sense the winds of advantage and be encouraged to take aggressive actions against socialism.

[Question] Therefore we must look facts squarely in the eye: As long as we have imperialism, and imperialist armies, socialism must be armed correspondingly.

[Answer] Yes. Our military might helps us to secure a lasting peace and makes possible the continued building of a socialist and communist society. The more visible our historical superiority becomes, our socialist alternatives to imperialism, exploitation and war, the more firmly will all forces of peace and progress in the world gather round the socialist countries. In the same measure, the possibilities for imperialist war adventures decrease.

[Question] The key world is rearmament. What role does the FRG play in this?

[Answer] The government of the FRG has steadily increased its armament expenditures in the past years. To understand the total armament expenditures correctly, using valid NATO figures, it is noted that the FRG spent a total of DM25.8 billion in 1970 for armaments, in 1973 38.4 billion and in 1976 roughly 47.6 billion, and in 1977 it expects to spend 49.1 billion. That is every third mark of the FRG budget. These sums serve to increase the war preparedness of the Bundeswehr, particularly its modern equipment and the armament of its land, air and naval forces, and this, at the expense of the social and educational budget. These increased armament expenditures of the FRG is part of the war preparedness of NATO which continues regardless of political detente and represents a threat to world peace.

[Question] Obviously the agitators in the FRG are very active against easing tensions and against disarmament.

[Answer] Yes! Among these are governing politicians and militarists who wish to undermine the process of detente, revive the cold war and intensively rearm the FRG and NATO. Acting as whipmasters are CDU Chairman Kohl and CSU Chairman Strauss, who travel up and down the country arguing against detente euphoria. General Schnell, secretary of state in the FRG Defense Ministry, publicly proclaims that NATO should by no means relinquish a first strike with atomic weapons.

[Question] What are the causes for this?

[Answer] Influential circles in the FRG are not satisfied with the existence of two sovereign, independent German states. In spite of Helsinki and the Basic Treaty, they employ their military might, now as before, as a means of threatening and blackmailing socialism.

[Question] In Western countries the idea is peddled that one must arm because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will expand their military might and threaten the NATO states. But what really is the truth?

[Answer] Whenever it is time to increase the military budgets in the legislative bodies of Western countries, someone always resurrects the threat of Soviet power. The Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community threaten no one. They spend for their defense only as much as is necessary to protect peace reliably.

And as to expenditures: they rose by 12.4 percent in the latest U.S. fiscal year as compared with the previous one, and this trend continues. In imperialist countries, one deliberately conceals the fact that the USSR defense budget from 1970 to 1973 with R17.9 billion remains at the same level, decreased in 1975 and 1976 to R17.4 billion, and in 1977 amounts to R17.2 billion. This corresponds to a decrease in military expenditures from 10.3 percent to 8.4, 7.8 and 7.2 percent of the state budget.

[Question] Comrade Captain, what do you think about the belabored assertion of Western newspapers that claim even officers of socialist armies had to be against detente to a certain extent "by nature."

[Answer] This is just as stupid as it is malicious. Whether general or lieutenant, the officers of socialist armies come chiefly from the very working class whose principles, as Karl Marx once said, are work and peace. For this reason we are also for detente. We love our profession because we love our homeland, and we know we have to protect it.

[Question] Most recently in Helsinki it became apparent to the entire world that the policy of the "rollback of socialism" with military might, as attempted by exponents of NATO in the fifties, has foundered once and for all. In what do these tactics consist today?

[Answer] It has foundered, yes; but this does not mean that the aggressive forces of imperialism have given up this goal. In every way possible, they attempt to disrupt detente. All instruments of imperialism serve this policy. They have organized a massive ideological diversion against the GDR, the USSR and the other socialist countries, and they intervene in our internal affairs. They instigate provocations time after time. In 1976 alone, more than a thousand provocations and attacks were undertaken by the FRG against the GDR state border and against our border troops. Such provocations are encouraged and justified by the revanchist theme that the GDR state border is not the border of a sovereign state.

At the same time the aggressive circles of imperialism broadened the material basis and the ideological preparedness for their aggressive endeavors, and the NATO armed forces continue to prepare themselves to conduct all types of war--from a limited conventional war to a general nuclear war. The total strength of the armed forces of all NATO nations amounted to almost 5.11 million soldiers in 1975. Of these, 3.3 million are stationed in Europe. The NATO command, Europa, has 2,900 fighter planes and 7,200 atomic weapons are stored in the NATO depots of Western Europe, of these about 5,000 are in the territory of the FRG.

[Question] What conclusions have the states of the socialist community drawn from these facts?

[Answer] I have already proven: The essentials in international development are, in spite of all contradictions and temporary setbacks, the pronounced change to the positive, to detente, to peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union, the GDR, and all states of our socialist community struggle together with other peace-loving forces of the world so that detente will become a continuous, universal and irreversible process, characterized by peaceful collaboration with states having opposing social orders and by practical results in disarmament.

The undiminished aggressive attitude of imperialism continues however. Erich Honecker, the first secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, ascertained, at the Ninth SED Conference that "unremitting strengthening of defensive preparedness of the GDR is a decisive guaranty to assure a lasting peace and guarantee favorable conditions for the continued formation of the evolving socialist society and to guaranty the creation of basic provisions for a transition to communism." This military class mandate submitted by the Ninth SED Party Congress determines our socialist soldiers competitive "Combat Course 77--to be always watchful, strong in combat and ready for action," for the honor of the 60th Anniversary of the Red October.

[Question] What does this mission signify?

[Answer] It means the following for every soldier, NCO, ensign and officer of our army: to practice great political and military vigilance, further to strengthen each member of the army ideologically, to drill him even more effectively, to lead him to a higher military skill and to guaranty always the necessary fighting strength and readiness for action. On the side of the glorious Soviet Army and all fraternal armies, the National People's Army pledges its entire might for a dependable protection of peace.

8998

CSO: 2300

NEED TO IMPROVE HISTORY STUDIES DISCUSSED

Socialist Consciousness of History

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 7, 13 Feb 77 p 9

[Excerpt from speech given at conference of social scientists by Joachim Streisand, professor of German history at Humboldt University, East Berlin, and president of GDR Society of Historians: "History and Everyday Life-- Observations on the Shaping of a Socialist Consciousness of History"]

[Text] If one wanted to summarize briefly the progress achieved by our Republic's Marxist-Leninist science of history during the past few years, one would have to say: Progress has been attained in theoretical-methodological respects, especially in the understanding of the dialectics of world and national history, understanding above all through the elaboration and application of the category "formation of society," through the application of the category of the world-historical epoch and on the basis of these concepts of the national historical period. We have enlarged the thematic base of the research and presentation, especially through the systematic examination of the history of our Republic, as represented by the basic work "Class Struggle - Tradition - Socialism." And we have made improvements in publicizing history and in more varied methods in general.

At the last West German meeting of historians, Werner Konze talked again about the unity of the German science of history, by which he meant the unified bourgeois science of history. Actually, however, our republic's science of history has been developed, in a spirit of partisanship, by the working class in harmony with our society. Its results have found their way into the reality of our society by developing a consciousness of history. Such successes make it possible to play our part in the fulfillment of the resolutions of the ninth party congress.

The goal is to raise the theoretical level perhaps of the understanding of the dialectics of objective laws and subjective factors, to be achieved also through cooperation with philosophers. This will contribute to having the science of history continue to exert its influence on the development of the consciousness of history. This contribution here is devoted, above all, to this end.

Comrade Hager has stated that the actual experience of workers is the starting point for socialist consciousness and that scientific crystallization of this experience, however, is equal importance.

Even before the activity of historians starts, one finds in every society everyday encounters with history. Works of art and building structures make visible the creative activity of past generations; things in daily use also have their history. As different generations live together, the younger generation always encounters something out of the past. The science of history connects here with the development of the consciousness of history. It can do so because in this daily experience with history, class-based, ideological and organizational factors constantly exert their influence in a twofold manner. First, the character of the respective social order and of the class affiliation of the individual determine to a great extent the form in which history faces the individual in everyday life. Secondly, each class utilizes the everyday encounters with history to propagate its own concept of history, to implement its own ideology. I would like to illustrate this with a few examples:

Many cities in the FRG have streets named for Hindenburg, but there is no monument to Heinrich Heine anywhere. Many West German army bases bear the names of officers, including even fascist war criminals. There is even one named for a sergeant, but that is a certain Diedrich Lilienthal, a fanatic Nazi, who in the span of 2 days murdered 68 Soviet citizens. Now, an army base in Delmenhorst bears his name. By the same token, there is no memorial at the Wewelsburg [Wewels fortress] which Himmler had converted by concentration camp inmates into an SS [Schutzstaffel -- Nazi elite troops], shrine whereby 1,200 of the 1,600 inmates lost their lives; nor is there a memorial in the town of the same name, where the concentration camp was located. Neither the respective volume of Dehio's manual of German monuments nor the widely known manual of historic sites contains any reference to this fact.

This is to say that the FRG ruling class, by means of such measures and such omissions, arranges history for everyday consumption. This is frequently more effective than the attempts by a few progressive museum directors to pass on progressive traditions.

We have done much to make revolutionary traditions visible in everyday life, including even the fact that streets, schools, and enterprises are named to call to mind progressive personalities, leaders of the workers' movement, and heroes of the resistance struggle. Above all, however, the citizens of our republic can more readily comprehend how the laws of historic progress assert themselves because such progress manifests itself in their everyday life: in the growth of productive forces, in the deepening of social relations, in the surmounting of difficulties and the overcoming of conflicts.

This applies also to our youth which is already well capable of grasping processes in its social environment from a historic perspective. But we must also take into consideration that in spite of all their similarities, such everyday encounters with history in, let us say, Eisenhuettendorf, do take on different forms from such encounters in Muehlhausen.

At the international meeting of young historians in Potsdam, last year, it became evident that the groups of young historians who achieved the greatest successes were those who related to everyday experiences with history in the environment of young people, stimulating them to independent thinking about history. On the other hand, the results are minimal in cases where events are analyzed, and important personalities are dealt with over and over again, that are in no way connected directly with this environment. It is well known that the interest in history is great among upper level students; but it is sometimes satisfied primarily by extracurricular reading matter including historical novels, more so than by history courses themselves. Consideration of such interrelations between history and everyday life can perhaps contribute to the fulfillment of the demands of the ninth party congress, directed to the non-specialized schools, namely, that they transmit to the youth a deeper understanding of history.

Thus, I also understand Comrade [Margot] Honecker, when she emphasized at the Party Congress: Our youth must have a living connection with history. To transmit a living connection with history is indeed the objective of the training of historians and history teachers at the universities and colleges. The new study programs, implemented two years ago, can contribute to this. In regard to working with these study programs, there are some aspects that I would like to mention here:

What matters first of all is [to get] a total picture of the history of mankind, which is based on such methodological progress as I sketched out at the beginning. The core of this picture is the history of the German and the international workers movement and that of the GDR. To the extent to which the leading role of the party grows stronger in every sector of social life, there arise new tasks and new prospective perceptions of history; and it becomes necessary to give consideration perhaps also to economic, cultural, and military history.

The Marxist-Leninist science of history helps the workers to understand their own activity in the larger framework within which the life of human beings has always taken place. Knowledge of history alone does not guarantee the right kind of decision making in contemporary conflicts. But history makes a considerable contribution to the formation of our philosophy of life.

The cultivation of revolutionary traditions opposes escape into the past; but it also opposes the view that, since our lot is continually improving, we no longer have any need history.

Foreign to us is the position that the individual lives only from day to day, without any link to the history of his class and its traditions. Our Republic rests on the traditions of the whole of history; and at the same time, its only history is already filled with a wealth of traditions which we ourselves have created; and this too is a source of the pride felt for our country.

## Abstract Instruction

Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in German 2 Mar 77 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR History Instruction Too Abstract"]

[Text] The teaching of history in the schools of the GDR is criticized in the latest edition of the East-Berlin DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG because to a great extent, only formalized, abstract knowledge is transmitted to the students, which has little connection with concrete historic events. In this manner, factual knowledge is considerably shortchanged. Historical facts, according to the East-Berlin pedagogical paper, however, furnish the premise and confirmation for ideologically important insights; at the same time, arranged in correctly perceived relationships and presented concretely, they also have an immediate consciousness-building effect. Knowledge of historical facts is therefore a basic goal of history education, to which teachers must devote considerably more attention when setting up their courses.

9011

CSO: 2300



EAST GERMANY

GOVERNMENT COMPLAINS OF NOISE FROM WEST BERLIN AIRCRAFT

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 May 77 p 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The aircraft starting and landing in West Berlin-Tegel are causing a growing noise disturbance which particularly affects the citizens of the northern city districts of the GDR capital and the enterprises, institutions and installations located there including primarily hospital, kindergartens, and recreation facilities.

The authorized representative of the GDR government has repeatedly voiced to the authorized representative of the West Berlin Senat that the competent authorities in West Berlin should immediately see to it that the noise disturbance caused by aircraft starting and landing in West Berlin is stopped.

The efforts are being continued to eliminate the hardships for the GDR citizens concerned emanating from the above mentioned aircraft noise.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

IMPROVED TREATMENT OF PRISONERS--As stipulated in the GDR Ministry of Interior's Implementing Regulation to a new law recently passed by the GDR People's Chamber on treatment of prisoners, which includes the abrogation of "harsh" and "aggravated" forms of imprisonment in GDR penal institutions, in the future GDR prisoners will receive free copies of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, central organ of the SED "for information on political, economic, cultural, and sports events"; juvenile prisoners will receive JUNGE WELT, FDJ newspaper. Moreover, in the Implementing Regulation, the Ministry of Justice has for the first time announced basic guidelines on the compensation which GDR prisoners are to receive for work done. Accordingly, in fulfilling a work quota, a prisoner earns 18 percent of the amount which workers would receive as net wages for the same type of work; juvenile prisoners in vocational training are to receive 35 percent of the standard remuneration for apprentices. As a rule, the prisoners are permitted to use 75 to 100 percent of their income for the purchase of goods for their daily needs. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 27/28 Apr 77 p 1]

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### HUMAN RIGHTS PLOY AIMED AT WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES

Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 30 Apr 77 LD

[P. Szabo-Jozsef commentary]

[Text] Please regard what follows as myself thinking aloud:

Recently both in the country and in the capital, I have found that many communists and non-communists alike are equally anxious, interested and irritated by the continuing Western campaign against the socialist countries in the name of human rights.

More and more are asking the question: What do they want? There was one who thought that President Carter had perhaps changed his stance since the election campaign and wanted to reverse detente with this campaign of human rights. (?My line of thinking) stems from something a little different, I think; from the undoubted fact that in many West European countries, a significant shift to the left has taken place. I am not talking here about events which happened--from Portugal to Greece--in recent years, but that in two extremely important West European countries the accession of the communists to power is only a stone's throw away. The stance of earlier U.S. administrations on this was to prevent this happening by any means.

It seems to me now that the Americans have changed tactics. They do not want to prevent this by economic, financial or other extraneous, overt or less overt forceful means, but rather in a new way; they want to run down realized socialism--no, let us be more modest--socialism which is about to be realized in the eyes of the masses on whose votes these communist parties are counting. These parties--the Italian, French and many others--state with complete openness and unanimity in their manifestos that they want to attain government not through force but by obtaining the majority of votes on the basis of the bourgeois constitution, keeping to all the rules of civilian democracy. If the Western civilian electorate can be frightened away from their own communist parties through the effective propaganda that the individual freedom rights of citizens are violated in the socialist countries, then it is a clear advantage. It would, however, be even more

advantageous to the capitalist world if these West European communist parties gave up the solidarity of proletarian internationalism--or at least squeezed it into the background--to secure the majority of votes. They would then find themselves in conflict with the socialist countries to a lesser or greater degree and would no longer be a danger to the bases of capitalism.

I know one could argue a lot about these views, but I am starting from the thought that all the forces who began and continued their attacks against us under the label of human rights know us pretty well and know that socialist power cannot be overthrown by articles in the Western press. It is true that the campaign is against several socialist countries, but in truth, its edge is directed against the shift to the left in West Europe and against its leading forces, the communist parties in West Europe.

I am not saying that the so-called human rights campaign against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries does not interfere with the domestic affairs of our community and our countries. Nor am I saying that they do not from time to time make use of our weaknesses and errors. But I feel that the main objective is to prevent left-wing governments in West Europe from coming to power. Objectively, several factors cannot be left out of the account: the overthrow of Portuguese, Spanish, Greek fascism; the fact that the legalization of the Spanish Communist Party could not be denied; that Communist-supported Mitterrand was out of the presidential elections by only 1 percent; the result of this year's municipal elections in France and the expected, (?unanimous) shift to the left at the forthcoming French general elections.

From the viewpoint of the solid power of the capitalist world system, these signs mean more danger than--let me give an absurd example--the possibility of a war, since in that event they could muster huge forces. Moreover, they could still be convinced of the peaceful intentions of the socialist countries even if they say the opposite in their propaganda from time to time.

This is how I came to the conclusion that this campaign is directed first of all against communist parties in West Europe and their internationalism. Dear listeners, I was merely thinking aloud; please regard this as such.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### INTERNATIONALISM DEFINED IN ERA OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 May 77 p 5 AU

[Istvan Darvasi article: "In Keeping With the Age"]

[Text] On 1 May, which is observed, openly or secretly, as a holiday by working people throughout the world, it is customary and appropriate to discuss the subject of internationalism. However, since the conditions under which the struggle of the workers class, the struggle for peace, differ according to individual countries and continents and vary also as the international situation and the balance of power between the two social systems change, one can examine the issue from various sides. We can thus fulfill the demand of being timely and in keeping with the age--for instance, by examining internationalism in the era of peaceful coexistence between the two social systems--or, more precisely, from the viewpoint of the requirements of peaceful coexistence. The reason for choosing this as our starting point is that the sincerity of the socialist countries' policy of peaceful coexistence is frequently doubted by the bourgeoisie with the argument that "it is inconsistent" with the internationalism of the communist parties, which play a leading political role in the socialist countries.

The concept of internationalism can look back on a long history. Marx, Engels and Lenin had to search, ponder and struggle a great deal for proletarian internationalism to become an indispensable criterion of revolutionary-mindedness.

Still, it has become one. It served as a watershed in the relationship of social democracy to World War I. Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, between the two world wars, no one could be either a revolutionary or an internationalist who did not defend and was not in solidarity with the Soviet Union come what may and who did not shout, "Hands off the Soviet Union!" Of course, the concept of internationalism was not confined to a positive relationship to the Soviet Union even at that time. But it was nonexistent without it.

In our era, a vast world socialist system, a revolutionary international workers movement encompassing the entire capitalist world, a national liberation movement extending over Asia and Africa and a world peace movement voice the demand of keeping hands off the socialist countries, Korea, the GDR, Vietnam, Cuba, Chile, Angola, Mozambique and Zaire. And they can also act to prevent imperialism from daring to touch them, unless it does so surreptitiously, covertly or mendaciously.

Thus, the world has changed. Thus are we confronted today with the question of whether there is a contradiction between the policy of peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism. We could say that both are inevitable, objective requirements of our era--that is, requirements independent of subjective decisions and sentiments. However, we would not be saying enough.

Capital rules a good many countries of the world. Still, a social system is a domestic affair. Every people decides itself under what social system it wants to live. The revolution is not an export product. Socialist construction is characteristically peaceful activity; and conquest, territorial expansion and war are alien to socialism. These foundations of peaceful coexistence in principle are very concise ones. If they become practice--and we are today on the best way toward this--normal interstate relations will come about between socialist and capitalist countries and political, economic, scientific and cultural contacts will develop. The principles of peaceful coexistence, including the prohibition of intervention in domestic affairs, have been laid down by the UN Charter, and since then by numerous bilateral interstate treaties and the final document of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Communist, Marxist parties are operating both in the socialist countries and in numerous capitalist countries. Their coming into being is necessary amid the struggle against exploitation and war. They are playing a leading political role in the socialist countries, but they are not identical with the state, they are not state institutions. Their common feature with the parties operating in capitalist countries is that they are organized political movements--that is, movements operating under a statute--but, of course, with certain characteristics that distinguish the Marxist-Leninist parties from all other political parties. The socialist countries' parties maintain contacts with the communist parties operating in capitalist countries. I would note here that, on an entirely different basis, contacts are also maintained among the world's social democratic parties, those in power and those that are not, which go as far as the fact that some time ago they even discussed how Portugal's domestic affairs should develop. However, in bourgeois circles no one has found anything objectionable in this. There is a black, or reactionary--to express myself in a characteristic Hungarian manner, a crane-feathered [symbol of Horthy's counterrevolutionary supporters]--internationale: open or covert capitalist aid to anticommunist forces of any type and manner. This, too, is welcomed by the bourgeoisie.

In the relationship between the communist parties of socialist and capitalist countries, internationalism is based on the objective fact that in the struggle to defend the rights to peace and democratic freedom against the forces of fascism and war, the interests of the working people, of the peoples, are identical. And we can speak of a similarity of interests in the case of the forces of other classes concerned for peace and peaceful coexistence as well.

Still, it goes without saying that peaceful coexistence also applies to the domestic affairs of capitalist countries; with regard to the political practice, in the sense that the struggle waged for socialism, finding the path leading to it and elaborating the methods of a socialist transformation constitute a task of all the communist parties themselves and that, in this, they must not--do not even need to--copy other parties. It is not absolutely necessary to follow the example of the existing socialist countries, either, and it probably could not be followed. All communist parties must seek and find the alternative to their countries' capitalist system themselves. This is not easy. It may help them to examine critically the socialist countries' experiences and practice. However, this is no substitute for their own alternative. This is so obvious that PCI Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer has declared: "The PCI is completely independent in its relations with the Soviet Union. There can be no question of any dependence or any instructions. The Soviet Union has never made the slightest attempt to tell us what we must do and what we must not do, not only as far as Italy is concerned but with regard to our activity and our participation in the international workers movement."

And, as for the 1976 Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, it said the following about the working people's continuously existing identity of interests and the present requirements of internationalism: "In this spirit will they develop their internationalist, voluntary and comradely cooperation and solidarity, on the basis of the great concepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin, strictly respecting each party's equality and sovereign independence, noninterference in internal affairs and each party's right freely to choose different paths in the struggle for progressive social transformations and for socialism."

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

INTERNATIONAL CP ORGAN GYENES' TOPIC AT BLOC CP SESSION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Apr 77 p 3 AU

[Report on address by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Andras Gyenes at 28 April session of the Prague consultation of representatives of 75 communist and workers parties: "Andras Gyenes: The Periodical Serves Well the Communist and Workers Parties' Joint Struggle"]

[Text] Among other things, Andras Gyenes noted in his address that the periodical [PEACE AND SOCIALISM] was successfully fulfilling its tasks and was contributing to propagating the concept of Marxism-Leninism and to the expansion of the exchange of experiences among the fraternal parties. All its activity served well the cause of strengthening collaboration among the fraternal parties.

Also in the period just elapsed, the periodical played an effective role in convincingly demonstrating the fact that the ranks of the international communist movement spanning five continents are constantly growing and that the strength and influence of the communist and workers parties are increasing.

Characterizing the main development trend in the international situation, the Central Committee secretary noted that, as a result of the joint efforts of forces concerned with the cause of peace, security, cooperation among countries and social progress, the progress of international detente has advanced and the policy of peaceful coexistence has scored further successes. The struggle continues between the supporters and opponents of detente. The efforts of international reaction are aimed at preventing the consolidation and further advances of the results of detente and to divert attention from the increasing difficulties of capitalism.

In the struggle of the European communist and workers parties for the continent's peace and security and for social progress, their Berlin consultation was an event of great significance. The consultation's document appraises in a Marxist-Leninist manner the development of European political conditions and new circumstances arising from the advancement of detente and is a program for mobilizing forces in the struggle for the continent's peace and security and for social progress. The Berlin conference and its results are highly significant for the entire revolutionary workers movement.



Andras Gyenes pointed out that the periodical's activity fosters a creative answering of new questions arising in the class struggle being waged on an international scale, new questions confronting the fraternal parties, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The objective demand manifested itself in the activity of the joint organ of the fraternal parties that we should constantly strengthen solidarity among the revolutionary forces active in various areas of the world. The periodical is fulfilling an important mission in strengthening internationalist solidarity among the fraternal parties. The scientific consultations staged by peace and socialism have successfully served the generalization of the fraternal parties' experiences and have thus contributed to enriching the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the theory of scientific socialism. The Central Committee secretary stressed that, in our country, the Hungarian edition of the periodical contributes to expanding our party members' Marxist-Leninist knowledge and helps research work in the area of the social sciences.

Andras Gyenes conveyed his appreciation of the periodical's effective work. On behalf of our delegation, he expressed his approval of proposals to further perfect the work of the fraternal parties' joint organ. In the concluding part of his address the Central Committee secretary stressed that, commensurate with its possibilities, our party will also in the forthcoming period contribute to insuring that PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the joint periodical of the communist and workers parties, be able, as an effective militant instrument, to promote the joint struggle pursued for the victory of the ideals of socialism throughout the world.

CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### MSZMP'S ACZEL NOTES ACHIEVEMENTS IN PRE-1956 SECTARIAN ERA

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 May 77 p 5 AU

["Excerpt" from study, according to footnote, "Passing on Historical Experiences," by MSZMP Politburo member Gyorgy Aczel: "Continuation and Regeneration"]

[Excerpt] Socialism was being built even between 1949 and 1953. We can only pay tribute to the thousands of men and women working in the party, the state apparatus and the mass organizations at the time; we can only regard with great esteem the millions of working Hungarian people who, with the determination to develop the country and quite unaware of the socially unfounded nature of arbitrary economic and political decisions and the illegal nature and true background to the contrived trials, carried out their work with devotion and absolute trust in socialism. Although public life as a whole was interwoven with the sectarian-dogmatic outlook and methods, this did not change the fact that the factories, the land and the schools became the people's property and the foundations of socialism grew stronger. The liberated people were permeated with the concept of and with affection for socialism.

Janos Kadar's comprehensive assessment of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers Movement, set forth at the national MSZMP conference held in July 1957, is valid also today: "For 25 years, under the conditions of illegality, our party struggled against Horthy fascism with varying results but with unceasing determination. Following the liberation when, as a result of the Soviet Army's struggle for the defense of the fatherland and the liberation of the peoples the rule of Horthy fascism was wiped out along with Hitlerite fascism, the party of the Hungarian workers class, taking appropriate advantage of the favorable historical situation, rallied the workers class and popular forces and, in the years from 1945 to 1948, rebuilt the worker-peasant state.... Thus, we can say that from 1918, since the Hungarian workers class has had a revolutionary party leading it, the party's program, as far as its fundamental trend is concerned, has been even and correct and that it has achieved great results while pursuing this path. The 1949-1953 period must be more thoroughly analyzed. This period of our party's history, too, is characterized by great positive results, but the balance sheet of this period includes the fact that, following 1949, along with the results, negative phenomena began to appear to an increasing extent."

At that time, the leaders, separated from the people and the country's reality, came into conflict with the essence of socialism. They made mistakes and committed crimes. All this produced tragic consequences; took a tragic toll in the ranks of the best representatives of our people and party. A moral and political confusion arose among the hundreds of thousands and millions of honest and enthusiastic devotees of socialism when it dawned on them how certain unscrupulous leaders, giddy with power and abusing it, took unfair advantage of their faith, desires and devotion. Panicking in their disgrace and desperation, now many people searched for an opportunity to make amends while straying along wrong paths, and how many people lost their faith! Those who forget this can never comprehend how the counterrevolution could become a genuine danger and then bloody reality in 1956.

Nevertheless, irrevocable results also came about in that era, results--mistakes, successes--despite the distortions. This was also acknowledged by the MSZMP's interim Central Committee resolution passed in December 1956, whose definition of the four main reasons for the counterrevolutionary attempt is valid to this day. At that time, when along with millions of citizens, the party was affected, as by a nightmare, by the terrible experiences of the counterrevolution and in a paralyzing manner by the worst memories of the sectarian-dogmatic era and the confusion caused by the revisionist-inspired disintegration, the Central Committee, adopting a principled stand, did not succumb to prejudice, which would have appeared psychologically justified or understandable at the time, and unmistakably declared: "It is the party's historical task to guide and aid our working people in building a socialist order of society in our country. It defends and further develops all the historic achievements of socialist construction that have been achieved by our people, despite the erroneous methods of leadership, in the past 12 years under the leadership of the Hungarian Workers Party, a Marxist-Leninist party in its fundamental activity.

This firmness of principle has enabled our party to act consistently ever since against sectarian and revisionist forces and counterrevolution propaganda at home and abroad.

We only really realize today, more than 20 years after these confused and by no means easy times, how sound and accurate this appraisal is, since the fruit of the seed we planted at the beginning of socialist construction is progressively ripening.

It has been historically proven that a necessary regeneration is an indispensable prerequisite for insuring socialist continuity. And a constant and honest confrontation of objective reality with the work we have done, our results and objectives, a permanent self-examination, a strict analysis of our work and ideas before the people, as our party is doing today, constitute the prerequisite for regeneration.

The cooperative movement captivated the peasantry on a mass scale when it was convinced through the force of example and sincere words of its correctness and when administrative coercion had ceased; in this way we overcame the erroneous bias that preached that the individually farming peasant would

be unable to regard the collective as his own. Industrialization became more fully the cause of the workers class and the people as a whole when the entire economic policy became more realistic and we linked production and construction to a systematic improvement of the working people's living conditions. Also creative activity developed on a wider scale in intellectual life and culture when impatience and tactics making unprincipled concessions to the right and "left" were replaced with a conceptual debate and persuasion.

In defending continuity, one cannot and must not vindicate grave mistakes and crimes, considering them as "inevitable concomitants" of the class struggle. The "defense" of them is just as untenable as the attitude which, with reference to the distortions that have occurred, questions the 3 decades of socialist construction.

For the sake of developing Marxist historical awareness, we must also recall an important statement made by Comrade Janos Kadar in his aforementioned speech in 1957: "...we must not fail to realize that negative features came--perhaps primarily into the practice of the leadership, but, in the final analysis, into practical party work as a whole--following the complete conquest of power, thus at a time when progress could have been made, essentially, without any great obstacle." And the continuation of this thought of his is just as edifying: "...the assumption of power puts the party and individual communists alike to a critical test."

A prerequisite for our successful struggle against these distortions was acting against compromising trends, declaring, as the party did in 1957, that revisionist views are, in fact, bourgeois and lower-middle-class views aimed at disarming the workers class ideologically and politically and yielding to the bourgeoisie, the path of the representatives of revisionist views leads inevitably from ideological action falsifying Marxist-Leninist theory, through a struggle between factions, to a betrayal of the workers class and going over to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is particularly important to keep this in mind at the moment, when the enemies of detente are intensifying their efforts aimed at slackening our ideological vigilance on an international scale.

Only a principled Leninist policy provides a guarantee against the revival of revisionist undermining activities and sectarian mistakes. The party resolutions against both harmful deviations and its resolution adopted in 1962 on the personality cult and illegal trials are, as before, valid. The time of accomplishment that has since elapsed strengthens even more the concluding lines of the resolution, which have been verified by practice: "It is a historical merit, recognized by the Hungarian people, of the MSZMP that it has settled accounts permanently with the personality cult...every law-abiding citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic can live and work securely in our country."

## HUNGARY

NORDLI, LAZAR TOAST EXPANDING RELATIONS AT OSLO DINNER

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 May 77 pp 1, 3 AU

[NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Jeno Szanto's telephone report from Oslo on the 3 May activities of the Hungarian delegation visiting Norway under the leadership of Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar: "The Hungarian and Norwegian Premiers' Talks; Gyorgy Lazar's Visit With King Olavi; the Premier's Press Conference"]

[Excerpt] Toasts

In the evening Odvar Nordli gave a festive dinner at Akershus Palace in honor of Gyorgy Lazar, present in the entourage of the two premiers were the prominent figures who had participated in the talks and many outstanding representatives of Norwegian political, economic and cultural life. Odvar Nordli proposed a toast at the dinner.

He warmly greeted Gyorgy Lazar as the first Hungarian premier to visit Norway. It is my pleasure to avail myself of this opportunity, he said, to express my respect and esteem for the Hungarian people; although a great geographical distance and language barriers separate us, we understand your genius splendidly through the international language of music, for instance.

Odvar Nordli emphasized that the fact that leaders of two countries belonging to different alliance systems are jointly striving for better understanding in such a cordial atmosphere can be regarded as a valuable achievement of peaceful coexistence and detente. He added: A good opportunity and great possibility of mutual interest present themselves, in particular, for the development of economic relations.

In his reply, Gyorgy Lazar expressed his gratitude for the invitation. With reference to the morning talks, he said that the useful exchange of views showed that there are still ample possibilities for expanding relations. I am convinced that international conditions are favorable for the development of our cooperation. Although there have been difficulties and interruptions, the trend of detente is, nevertheless, becoming a predominant factor of the

international situation, he said and then paid tribute to the significance of the Helsinki final document, stating that, although the Soviet Union and the United States are playing an extremely great role in the policy of detente, all countries, including Norway and Hungary, are playing their own role in making detente irreversible. In his concluding words, the premier reaffirmed the readiness of the Hungarian People's Republic to continue to do its best for consolidating international peace and security and for better understanding among countries and peoples.

Tuesday's program was closed by the festive dinner. On Wednesday, the Hungarian guests will visit Bergen, then, returning to Oslo, Gyorgy Lazar will hold a farewell reception. According to the plans, the Hungarian premier will return home late Wednesday evening.

CSO: 2500

# METHODS OF MASS INDOCTRINATION IN MARXIST ATHEISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, Feb 77 pp 31-34

/Article by Petru Berar: "Marxist Atheism: Theory and Method in the Materialist Indoctination of the Masses"/

/Text/ Determination of the Marxist position on religion has always made it particularly necessary to distinguish the truth from deceptive appearances. It might even be said that over the decades these ideas have often been the most subject to falsifications from various quarters and for the most different reasons. But it is clear to anyone who analyzes Marxist atheism correctly that its philosophy and ideology come to light only when the doctrine is viewed as a component part of Marxist theory. Marxist atheism does not present us with a new philosophical school of atheism in the traditional historical sense. The theoretical interpretations and the value of the ideals of this atheism are to be sought in the general characteristics of Marxism as an ideology that sets out to theoretically substantiate socialism and communism and to permit the real assertion of the human personality on the basis of the construction of the new order.

There are many indications that we are living in a period of crisis of the religious spirit throughout the world, one of growth and diffusion of religious apathy and atheism as manifestations of mass behavior. Never in history have the religious institutions been so profoundly challenged as they are now by the social phenomena of unbelief and spiritual crisis. Contemporary sociologists speak of the worldwide character of the current religious crisis. In other words this crisis occurs in all countries and involves all aspects of life and religious belief. In the first place, the characteristically modern fact that individual and social life are increasingly and objectively divorced from the traditional religious spirit seems critical for the future of religion. As the authors of recent and voluminous scientific works have noted, religion must define the nature of its present activity in a world wherein man's mastery of the technical, economic and political means of his existence is constantly growing: "From birth to death man's life goes on with no need of relating to religion, and culture can develop without any church. To be sure this secularization does not affect civilizations, generations or social classes equally, but the modern media of information are leveling populations in this respect too." (1)

There is no question that study of the Marxist conception of religion and atheism is particularly important in this international cultural climate.

#### Materialism as the Basis of Marxist Atheism

What distinguishes Marx and Engels from preceding socialist thinkers and atheists, as regards their theoretical approach to religion, is essentially their materialistic and dialectical conception of society. They began their theoretical studies toward the middle of the last century, at a time when the social disciplines were beginning to take the form of sciences. The development of dialectical and historical materialism made an essential contribution to the scientific explanation of society and to modern bases of such disciplines as sociology, political economics, history etc. as a result. Dialectical and historical materialism became a general theory and method of scientific investigation of society. It was no longer a matter of merely imagining the future of society, because this future had to be scientifically deduced from the present through the discovery of the social laws, the concept of social law being one of the most specific contributions of the last century. But it was in the scientific conception of the study of reality in general and of society in particular that the radical opposition of the dialectical materialist conception to religion arose from the start. To explain society scientifically it was first necessary to reject the religious conceptions of it and, in general, the idealist conceptions of social development and of the nature and functions of social studies.

Often when they tried to define the essence of the historical materialist conception of religion they resorted to Engels' statements to the effect that "Any religion is merely the fantastic reflection in men's minds of the external forces that dominate their daily lives, a reflection in which the natural forces take the form of supernatural forces." (2) And in some popular literature of Marxist atheism the purport of this quotation was very often vulgarized and distorted. It was maintained for example that the essence of the Marxist conception of religion was merely the demonstration of the fantastic character of the reflection of reality within the religion. But Engels did not relate religion solely to the process of man's knowledge, in the sense that it was merely an untrue and fantastic reflection of reality, but also pointed out the source of this reflection, to be found in the particular historical nature of certain relationships between man and nature and of certain historically determined relationships of people in the framework of society. The religious reflection is related not to reality in general but to a particular historically determined reality that dominates man. Besides the fact that the fantastic nature of this reflection is not peculiar to religion but is also true of art, even in the history of religion this fantastic reflection has greatly varied in importance and has been expressed very differently in various periods. There is a great difference, for example, between primitive man's "appetite" for the fantastic religious reflection and the modern believer's ideological needs that are basic to the "modernization" of religion, to a religion in which the image is beginning to take second place to the moral idea.

Religion as a social phenomenon plays an essential and predominant part in the scientific explanation of its historical destiny, which is why the general idea



of religion as a social phenomenon is a landmark in the materialist-historical conception of religion. Of course the possibility of the existence of religion lies in certain features of the human consciousness, but the process of its appearance and its social nature cannot be plausibly explained or correctly understood unless they are related to social determinism. To be sure the human consciousness is the "laboratory" of religion, but it is itself a social product. It is this dialectic, which comprises the social determinism of religion, which historically subordinates the psychological one properly speaking, that shows us the way to understanding the Marxist conception of religion as a social-historical phenomenon. But this conception can be correctly understood only in the light of the meanings of the classic Marxist text in its entirety. And this new philosophical view is perhaps best expressed in "Contributions to the Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law. Introduction": "Religion is man's self-awareness and self-feeling which either has not yet been found in itself or has been lost again... It is the fantastic realization of human nature, because human nature has no true reality. Therefore the struggle against religion is the indirect struggle against the world whose spiritual aroma is religion. Religious misery is the expression of real misery and at the same time the protest against real misery. Religion is the sigh of the tortured creature, the sensibility of a heartless world, just as it is also the spirit of an order devoid of spirit. It is the opiate of the people." (3)

The causality of religion, both the determining socially objective one and the subjective psychological one, no longer appears in relation to the human being directly and somehow outside of him as the old materialists thought. The complex causality of religion, as a historical and regular necessity, is not outside but within "human nature." It is this social function of religion, of distorting the relations of the human being with a world that is itself distorted and hostile to him, that enables it also to become a specific, powerless protest against real misery but also an ideological instrument in the hands of the exploiting classes, which is what usually happened in societies split into antagonistic classes. But in calling religion a backward, conservative ideology opposed to revolutionary social progress, Marxism does not mean that religion is a mere strategem or a pure ideological fraud on the part of the representatives of the exploiting classes or that in general all believers and clergy are opposed in principle to any social progress. The alienated sociality to which Marx referred means more than a reduction of the functions of the religious form of socialist awareness to a mere fraud.

The predominant nature of religion as a social phenomenon is also clear from Marx' and Engels' explanation of its historical destiny. To this effect Marx wrote, "In general the religious reflex of the real world cannot disappear until daily practical relations are clear and rational relations among people and between people and nature. The mystic veil that covers the social process, that is the process of physical production, will not be removed until it becomes a product of the free association of people and comes under their purposeful and planned control. But this requires a certain material base of society, namely a series of material conditions of existence which in turn is the natural outcome of a long and arduous historical development." (4) Of course this prediction is a philosophical one and must be interpreted as such, since the disappearance of religion as a social phenomenon cannot be

"planned" or even approximately dated. It is actually a question of the objective process in which history incorporates the continuous and all-around progress of spirituality and which conforms to the prospects of social development on the path of communism.

### The Party's and State's Attitude Toward Religion

It is a fundamental characteristic of Marxist-Leninist atheism that the inevitable opposition between the principles of dialectical and historical materialism and religious ideologies do not involve political opposition between communists and religious people. In accordance with this essential truth, the political ideas expressing the attitude of the Communist Party and the socialist state toward religion were formed on the basis of both the necessity of the scientific view of social development and the political experience of the international communist movement in the last century.

From the very beginning Marx and Engels categorically excluded any admixture of religious ideology or idealist philosophy from their conception of the political purposes of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. The fight for complete secularization of the communist movement records memorable pages, especially toward the middle of the last century when Marx and Engels were waging resounding polemics with Weitling, Kriege, Kuhlman et al., who thought working class ideology could make common cause with religion. But the rejection of religion from the explanation of the social problems and the formulation of communist ideals are only one point, the ideological one (however essential), in the Communist Party's policy on religion. With the same intransigence Marx and Engels, and Lenin later on, opposed the introduction of atheism in the party program as an objective of political struggle, in the sense that the party should declare political-administrative war on religious institutions. As an objective social phenomenon religion also has its inexorable historical dialectics, which cannot be ignored either in the struggle for political power or in the construction of socialist and communist society. That is why the Marxist-Leninist classics thought they had to combat not only opportunistic concessions to religious ideology but also leftist political positions, because both these attitudes, although theoretically opposed, were equally erroneous and harmful.

As Lenin said, it is the duty of Marxism in its religious policy always to distinguish between anarchism and opportunism, which distinction "is relative, mobile and shifting but nevertheless exists." (5) In the socialist system, religion is the citizens' private matter in relation to the state, but in relation to the Communist Party, the contradiction between the latter's ideology and religion remains irreconcilable.

In substantiating its religious policy, the RCP makes a regular, principled and constructive application of Marxist-Leninist ideology. To this effect, in his speech at the Congress on Political Indoctrination and Socialist Culture Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We, the communists, guided by the scientific conception of the material nature of the world, are strenuously combatting superstitions, mysticism, and the schools of idealist thought. However our party and state policy and our entire social activity are based upon respect for people's beliefs, upon freedom of conscience, and upon the free manifestation of creeds

within the laws of the state, on the basis of the fact that every citizen regardless of his religious belief and any adherent of any creed must obey the laws and serve the cause of construction of the new socialist order in Romania."

(6) Under socialist democracy all citizens' freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the constitution, which stipulates that every citizen has the right to adopt a religious belief and to belong to any of the legally recognized creeds or, on the contrary, to profess no religious belief at all. Religious belief or disbelief is no reason for discrimination or restriction of civic rights or freedoms. The constitution also specifies that in Romania the schools are separate from the church. No faith, congregation or religious community can maintain educational institutions other than special schools to train religious personnel. In connection with the profoundly democratic character of freedom of conscience in our socialist democracy, the fact should also be mentioned that all of the 14 religious faiths recognized by law belong to the Socialist Unity Front and that representatives of the faiths have been elected to the Grand National Assembly.

#### The Conflict Between Science and Religion

The cultural development of modern man, beyond compare with other periods in its pace and extent, has also resulted in a striking improvement in the media for disseminating scientific information. The modern scientific-technical revolution sometimes very rapidly and directly affects both the material experience of individuals and their consciousness. In their turn, the meanings acquired by the reflection of scientific progress in human awareness are extremely varied, and furthermore it is a process that has hardly begun. But the aspects of this process unquestionably include the present contrast between science and religion, not only because it has become a spectacular one but also because it is becoming more and more of a public phenomenon concerning and influencing broad masses of people.

As we know, on the level of material civilization modern scientific-technical development is considerably enhancing the freedom of man from nature, which is a major index of social progress. Today science is contributing more than ever to the humanization of life. Contemporary man is acting far more effectively than ever before to improve the present. But we must not forget that the development of scientific knowledge makes the individual's attitude toward religious beliefs inherited from past centuries and millennia more intransigent and unshakable. Among the masses modern science is developing a great confidence in the powers of human reason and in the possibilities of constantly enhancing the social productive forces as well as man's mastery of nature. For the man of today, to whom scientific progress throughout history is becoming clearer and more comprehensible than it was to his ancestors in any previous era, review of the evolution of scientific knowledge is a source of lessons on atheism, rejection of any obscurantism, and the inexhaustible possibilities of scientific thought.

The differences between religion and science are ones of essence and principle, and not polemics that can be resolved by mutual concessions. Assuming the existence of supernatural forces, which are actually only imaginary, religious belief is poles apart from the truthful, objective reflection. Instead of

knowledge it offers revelation, namely the belief that God has transmitted His truths to men in miraculous, extrascientific ways that cannot be controlled by the human mind. Religious belief is an obstacle to the progress of knowledge. By virtue of the arguments of religion the truth about man and the world is considered perfect from the start, so that insofar as theologies refer to concepts and ideas that illuminate the progress of knowledge of nature and society, they take this knowledge from the treasury of science to give it a spiritualistic interpretation governed by religious dogmas.

As a constantly evolving process, despite any temporary delays, scientific knowledge has demonstrated its creative power throughout its entire history, by virtue of its continuing intensification, proliferation and diversification. But it is particularly clear today, even to the more or less mediocre mentality, that the theoretical structure of science is a permanent one that does not foster the apologetic spirit characteristic of religious belief but its own development through receptive integration of the new. Moreover the huge proportions of the present progress of scientific knowledge also reveal their fertile role in their relations with culture as a whole, since science is now directly or indirectly developing all cultural values. Modern scientific knowledge and scientific-technical advances are rapidly relieving our culture of the backward conceptions and attitudes inherited from the past. The possibilities of mass assimilation and dissemination of cultural values and of making culture a creative process of truly universal proportions are increasing as never before.

Science and religion represent two radically different ways of interpreting objective reality and of evaluating man's attitude toward this reality. Science is a true reflection of reality and consists of a series of logically coherent disciplines that can be checked in practice. It originated and develops on the basis of social-historical experience and objectively reflects the laws of determined fields of present reality in the logical-abstract form of concepts, theories, principles and hypotheses. Science performs the social function of enhancing the effectiveness of human efforts to transform reality and is based upon facts, experiments and verifiable conclusions. Scientific truth is characterized by reason, conformity to the objective laws of reality, constant verification in practice, continuing improvement and consequently the historically limited character of man's capacity for knowledge. But this does not mean, as some fideist thinkers try to maintain, that there is an absolute relativity of science making it essentially powerless. As Lenin said, relativity is one of the essential characteristics of our knowledge of nature, but any relative knowledge contains a grain of absolute or objective truth that fully conforms to reality.

#### Materialist Indoctrination as an Aim of Ideological Work

Our party regards man's liberation from the religious "opiate," as from any other spiritual enslavement, as essential to the full implementation of revolutionary socialist humanism. But it is the fundamental task of socialist and communist society, which bears this historic mission, to create a world in which man will no longer feel the spiritual need of an illusory life and happiness. Actually the humanist ideals of educating the new man of communist

society are not identified with mere inoculation of the masses with atheist ideology, as some studies and works still mistakenly maintain. The ultimate aim of communist humanism should be and is something higher, namely the formation of the kind of man who no longer needs religion or its concerns.

The formation of the new man, with this higher moral consciousness and a scientific conception of the world, is a basic aim of socialism. As the party documents repeatedly point out, the formation of socialist awareness has the basic and mutually conditioned requirements of acquisition of a wealth of general cultural and technical-scientific knowledge up to modern standards, mastery of the working class's philosophical conception of the world (dialectical and historical materialism), and development of civic behavior in keeping with the high standards of communist morality.

The progress made in building our fully developed socialist society has thoroughly shaken the social foundations of religion in Romania. And under these social conditions it is essentially correct to say that religion is a "remnant" of the old societies in relation to socialism. But we must remember that this reasoning is on the level of history and comparison of the socialist system with previous social orders and not on the level of individual awareness. With the gradual disappearance of the social-historical basis of religion as regards certain strata of people and certain categories of individuals, religion is not always a "remnant" but a form of spiritual existence that is not in keeping with the present level of scientific knowledge or the ethical requirements of social development but has profound effects upon these individuals' lives and their kind of ethical and practical social behavior.

Analysis of the causes of the persistence of religion under socialism also reveals certain features of this phenomenon. In this connection the Marxist scholars rightly and convincingly point out the tendency of some elements of social consciousness to lag behind the changes in the material base of society, such as the slower rate of progress of the psychological and especially the individual aspect of the social consciousness than that of its ideological one for example, the persistence of the religious traditions because of their integration with all social activity, the presence of the capitalist world and the effect of its ideology, etc. These causes are real and of major importance. But it is equally important to analyze the existence of some more profound social factors for the temporary maintenance of religion in socialist society. As we know the RCP urges researchers to shun any optimistic view of reality and to study society objectively and constructively. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Conference of Personnel in the Social Sciences and Political Education, the revolutionary process in Romania will continue, making it necessary to study the objective contradictions in our society and the extent to which aspects or forms of the class struggle can still occur in it. But under these circumstances in speaking of the persistence of religion in our society we must also relate it causally to some objective aspects of social reality, since people's religious consciousness also specifically reflects certain features of their social position and their way of living and family life, the individuals' interrelations with the social groups in their immediate environment, etc.

From the standpoint of revolutionary humanism, materialist education is no isolated phenomenon with an independent value of its own but is objectively subordinated to socialist and communist construction.

Materialist education is profoundly political in nature. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the 11th Party Congress in connection with the importance of the preparation of the RCP Program, which is the party's basic ideological charter, "On this basis we shall begin intensified political indoctrination and an extensive effort to improve the workers' socialist awareness and to educate the new man with a higher morality and an advanced attitude toward his work and the general interests of society. The formation of the new man as a builder of socialism and communism requires basing all educational work on the dialectical materialist and historical revolutionary conception, Marxism-Leninism, and all that man has created in the field of knowledge that is more advanced." (7)

Formation of man's new consciousness and new morality, in which fertile and rich scientific information will play a major role, is a socially directed process and a social phenomenon under the leadership of the Communist Party. This also explains why creative study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy or dialectical and historical materialism can play an essential part in forming the scientific view of the world and the moral purpose of life. Mastery of this philosophy may become the starting point for revolutionizing the whole human consciousness, offers possibilities for further expansion of the masses' horizon of knowledge, and enables people to creatively and harmoniously integrate scientific information in their personalities.

The connection between scientific development and formation of man's new spirit is not always direct and is not mechanical or automatic. As an individual man must fight for advanced concepts and convictions. Hence also the methodological and moral need of popularizing both scientific knowledge itself and the philosophical conclusions drawn from it, which directly contribute to the formation of the workers' philosophical concepts in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism. Only by achieving this aim can the purposes of disseminating scientific information be considered fully accomplished and the distortions avoided that can sometimes still be found in mass scientific propaganda. These distortions occur especially in the propagation either of stereotyped philosophy only formally related to modern scientific philosophy or of an exaggerated unphilosophical scientism tending to present science as a kind of new religion.

Scientific-materialist education is an aim of all political indoctrination. In this connection the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture extensively discussed the increased educational tasks of state and party education and the educational role of the party offices and people's universities. As for dissemination of scientific knowledge as an integral part of the all-around education of the new man, it was pointed out that it must also be emphasized by the clubs, houses of culture and cultural clubs, and all establishments of culture and art, so that Romania's entire educational effort will be uniform. The specification of these points and ideas, which brings out the connection between the formation of materialist convictions and the major

educational institutions, is particularly important to the correct interpretation of the nature of scientific atheist propaganda, and the means of implementing it. For example we can still sometimes encounter such vulgarizing opinions to the effect that materialist education is confined to a sort of atheistic "reconversion" of a limited circle of believers. There is no question that materialist educational work can take the most varied forms and means but we must remember in this connection, always and primarily, the educational functions of the socialist institutions for this purpose, because this education does not involve only a limited group of individuals but the working masses.

The masses' materialist education must be accompanied by greater unity of our people's effort on behalf of the party. That is why, in directing educational work, the party organizations try to involve people more completely and actively in the purposeful construction and development of the socialist system in Romania. It is only through active and direct participation in the construction of the new social order and active and constant presence in the nation's social-political activity that people change, acquire confidence in their ability, and form their personalities in accordance with the highest humanist standards of our era.

#### FOOTNOTES

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5. "Marx, Engels, Lenin. On Religion," Political Publishing House, 1974, p 484.
6. "Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture," Political Publishing House, 1976, p 65.
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program, "Problems of Dialectical and Historical Materialism and of the Role of Science and Technology in National Socioeconomic Progress," Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 30-32, the following may also be consulted:

1. "Marx, Engels, Lenin. On Religion," Political Publishing House, 1974, n-troductory study, pp V-LXVIII.
2. Florin Georgescu, "The Human Condition from the Standpoint of Revolutionary Humanism," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 18, 1976.
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ROMANIA

SOVIET-ROMANIAN FRIENDSHIP PRAISED AT LENIN COMMEMORATION

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 22 Apr 77 LD

["Vasile Musat's Speech at Festive Meeting Commemorating V. I. Lenin"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 22/4/1977, AGERPRES--Pointing out that this anniversary is to Romanian Communists and working people, just as to the whole progressive mankind, an opportunity to evoke the personality and outstanding activity of the great communist theoretician and ardent fighter for the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism in the world, founder of the Bolshevik Communist Party and of the Soviet state, the speaker said;

"The triumph of the socialist revolution on one-sixth of the globe, 60 years ago, inaugurated the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, giving the working people everywhere the certainty of attainment of their aspirations after social and national liberation, after the abolition of man's exploitation by man."

"Inspired by profound internationalist feelings," Vasile Musat went on, "the Romanian people, communists in Romania followed and follow with interest and warm sympathy the creative labor of the diligent Soviet peoples, under the CPSU leadership, for their homeland's progress and prosperity, wholeheartedly rejoicing over the outstanding achievements recorded in economic, scientific and cultural development, in the construction of communist society."

After recalling the rich traditions of internationalist ties between the Russian and Romanian revolutionists, the relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between Romania and the Soviet Union, the speaker said:

"A decisive role in the continual development of the fraternal Romanian-Soviet friendship and collaboration is played by the bilateral contacts on a party and state (?)line. In this connection, the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and L. I. Brezhnev proved their utility and decisive role in seeking out new ways of continually developing the friendship and collaboration between

the two parties, countries and peoples. In this respect, the visit paid last year by Nicolae Ceausescu to the Soviet Union, as also the visit made in Bucharest in November 1976 by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the talks conducted by the two leaders accounted, by the scope of the exchange of views, by the importance and significance of the understandings covenanted, outstanding moments in the upward evolution of the links of friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples."

Referring next to the Romanian-Soviet economic collaboration, the speaker stressed that it records continual development which is tellingly illustrated by the fact that the Soviet Union is the first among Romania's economic partners. New, superior forms of collaboration develop successfully, such as, for instance, cooperation and specialization in compartments and branches of production, science and technology of utmost importance, for the development of both countries' national economies, a central concern being the joint achievement of important economic objectives.

The speaker further referred to the Romanian people's successes in the ample creative activity it unfolds under the leadership of the RCP, for the attainment of the targets set by the Eleventh RCP Congress, and highlighted the self-denial with which the whole Romanian nation acts for the complete and fastest elimination of the catastrophic seism aftermaths.

In these difficult moments, he stressed, the Romanian people enjoyed the friendship and feelings of solidarity of a large number of peoples and nations and, first, of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries.

"The centenary of the proclamation of Romania's independence that will be celebrated soon," the speaker went on, "occasions the evocation of the glorious traditions of fight of the Romanian people for independence, for its free and dignified affirmation among the world nations. This event recorded an unforgettable page in the history of the Romanian-Soviet friendship, through the heroic struggle fought shoulder to shoulder by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers, together with volunteer detachments of Bulgarians, against the armies of the Ottoman Empire, a struggle that led to the winning of Romania's state independence.

"We also celebrate, Vasile Musat recalled, "50 years since the foundation of the Romanian people, an event with profound meanings for the destinies of the working-class movement in Romania, a crucial moment in Romania's modern history.

"The application of the revolutionary theory, of the Marxist-Leninist ideas to the concrete conditions of Romania has been an essential concern of the RCP whose activity has been characterized by a permanent overture [words indistinct] new, to the continual progress of cognition."

Referring then to the RCP program of building the (?)multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism, the speaker showed that it theoretically generalizes the experience of the RCP and the Romanian people in the fight for the building of the new, socialist system and raising the whole people's standard of material and spiritual civilization. The program takes account of the other socialist countries' experience, creatively applying the general, universal truths to the concrete historical and social conditions of Romania. At the same time, by the contribution made to defining the goals of fight of the advanced forces everywhere, the program of the Romanian Communist Party is of strong international significance, enriching the treasurestore of universal socio-political thinking, of the contemporary revolutionary theory.

"The vast experience amassed by the RCP in the work of building the socialist society, the new, daring solutions to the complex problems posed by the building of the new system are valuable contributions to the treasure of theoretical and practical experience, of Marxist-Leninist thinking."

Broaching questions of foreign policy, the speaker mentioned that Romania has most consistently acted for strengthening the friendship and solidarity of the socialist countries in the spirit of fully equal rights, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance, for the ever more powerful affirmation of the might and appeal of socialism internationally.

"In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, based on the full equality of rights, "the speaker then stressed," Romania develops relations with the developing countries, with all world states, irrespective of their social system.

"The RCP acts firmly for the continual strengthening of collaboration and solidarity with the revolutionary, communist, socialist, progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces everywhere.

Romania, the speaker concluded, receptive to the new demands of life, makes an important contribution to solving the major questions of contemporary world, being permanently concerned with seeking out solutions in conformity with the peoples' vital interests, with living in full security and peace, developing unhamperedly the collaboration among them, fructifying the gains of knowledge for building a new, juster, free and happy life. It is the finest and loftiest homage which the CP and Romanian people pay to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, on this anniversary.

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